

BUREAUCRACY : POSITIONS AND PERSONS

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**(Role structures, Interactions and Value-Orientations of
Bureaucrats in Rajasthan)**

NARENDRA KUMAR SINGHI



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To Appa
In loving memory

PREFACE

Ever since Max Weber formulated the ideal-typical characteristics of bureaucracy, a number of theoretical and empirical studies have been undertaken by social scientists, covering diverse aspects of bureaucratic functioning. But most of this research has been done in the context of western society. Indian bureaucracy has remained an unexplored territory.

The growth of formal bureaucratic structure in India has largely been a contribution of the colonial regime. The British developed a hierarchy of civil service and a network of other bureaucratic offices. Together with this phenomenon started the first phase of industrialization in this country. The twin processes of bureaucratization and industrialization mutually sustained each other. Eventually both public and private bureaucracy began to take a certain form in the country.

Due to the impact of colonialism at the political level and of traditionalism at the level of social organization, the Indian bureaucracy developed a typical form. While typically Indian the formal structure of bureaucracy followed the British pattern. Even after the independence, the structure continues notwithstanding the new tasks and responsibilities assigned to bureaucracy. In the new context, bureaucracy is expected to contribute effectively to the process of nation building and required to initiate social change.

Greater emphasis on social and industrial reconstruction with a liberal democratic polity necessitates not only enlargement of the size of bureaucracy but also systematic inculcation

changes in the bureaucratic system become necessary for the pursuit of goals. When such changes are not introduced, the system fails to respond and begins to deteriorate. In present-day India the phenomenon of *structural lag*, in the bureaucratic system, can easily be witnessed which accounts for its ineffectiveness and attendant dysfunctions of several types.

Bureaucracy in India has met with another unique situation which it has constantly to grapple and reconcile with, viz., the emergence of a power-conscious political elite constituting a power structure superordinate to bureaucracy. All this led to, specially in the earlier phase, power and role conflict between the political elite (elected leaders, ministers etc.) and the experienced and trained bureaucrats.

The above discussions signify the need for understanding the phenomenon of bureaucracy at all the three levels of sociological frame of reference—culture, social system and personality. In this framework we have tried to examine the social background of bureaucrats, pattern of their social interaction, bureaucratic role and personality, job satisfaction of bureaucrats, dysfunctions of bureaucratic system, subculture and value-orientations of bureaucrats. The above aspects have been delineated to emphasize the sociological orientation and perspective for the analysis of the structure and functioning of bureaucracy. The variables of hierarchy (upper, middle, lower), job specialization (non-technical and technical) and type (public and private bureaucracy) have been selected in view of the increasing role of private and technical bureaucrats in the process of nation building and social change. The meaningful integration of the above aspects of bureaucracy shall provide an understanding in the hitherto neglected perspective and theme of its inquiry. Such an analysis shall lead to a better understanding of the changing role of bureaucracy in a developing nation. It is with this view that the present study has been undertaken.

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This work gives me the opportunity to acknowledge my debts to Professor G.S. Ghurye, late Professor K.M. Kapadia, and to Professor A.R. Desai—my teachers at the University of Bombay. It is my privilege to have learnt sociology from scholars of such eminence and repute.

I have benefited from the suggestions made by many colleagues at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, USA, during my stay there in the year 1971-72.

I express my deep sense of gratefulness to my respondents and various organizations for the help during collection of

of rational, universalistic, and liberal values into it. Structural data. Their desire for anonymity prevents me from mentioning their names.

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The Overview

Since Max Weber formulated his ideal-typical theory of bureaucracy and emphasised its role in the growth of all types of industrial-rationalistic societies irrespective of their economic systems, the concept has been examined by a number of social scientists, both theoretically as well as empirically.

The study of bureaucracy has assumed importance in sociology at all the three levels of sociological frame of reference : culture, social system, and personality. In India, however, such sociological studies of the system of bureaucracy are rare. A sociological study of the structure and function of bureaucracy and the process of bureaucratisation in India would not only offer substantial theoretical

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came to be identified with pathology and dysfunctions of bureaucracy relating it to delay, nepotism, corruption, buck-passing, concentration of power and other negative features. After World War II, this common stereotype was given a new colour by Parkinson, who formulated humorous and sarcastic laws of bureaucracy and chided it for the unnecessary waste, delay, duplication and empire building tendencies.

Parsons,⁵ Etzioni⁶ and some others have used the word organization in place of bureaucracy. Parsons considers organizations to be sub-systems of the more comprehensive social system, which are social units deliberately constructed and reconstructed to seek specific goals.⁷ Etzioni prefers the term organization to bureaucracy, since the latter has a negative connotation in the mind of the layman, while organization is a neutral word. Bureaucracy, according to him, also implies, for those familiar with Weber's work, that a unit is organized according to his ideal-typical characteristics.⁸

The definition of bureaucracy as given by Blau compared to other characterizations is more comprehensive. He defines bureaucracy as 'the type of organization designed to accomplish large scale administrative tasks by systematically coordinating the work of many individuals.'⁹

However, as a term which has been the subject of scholarly inquiry it is associated with the famous German social-scientist Max Weber whose writings on bureaucracy have aroused the interest of many scholars and social scientists.¹⁰ Almost every study of bureaucracy mentions contributions of Weber : some simply footnote him, some use his model, and some acknowledge his pioneering work but question some of his ideas.¹¹ The influence of Weber on the study of bureau-

⁵See Talcott Parsons, *Structure and Process in Modern Societies*, Glencoe, Illinois : The Free Press, 1960

⁶See Amitai Etzioni, *Modern Organizations*, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey : Prentice Hall, 1964.

⁷Parsons, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

⁸Etzioni, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

⁹Peter M Blau, *Bureaucracy in Modern Society*, New York : Random House, 1965, p. 14.

¹⁰Heady, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

¹¹Frederick C. Dyer and John M. Dyer, *Bureaucracy vs. Creativity*, Coral Gables, Florida : University of Miami Press, 1965, p. 16.

contribution but would also explain a number of vital issues regarding the process and direction of social change. With the above framework, the present study discusses the concept and meaning of bureaucracy as its starting point.

Bureaucracy : Emergence of the Concept

The term bureaucracy is of recent origin. According to Ferrel Heady, the origin of the word is not clear.¹ Initially it referred to the cloth covering the desk of French Government officials in the eighteenth century. The term 'Bureau' was linked with a suffix signifying rule of government (as in 'aristocracy' or 'democracy') probably during the struggle against absolutism preceding the French Revolution.² The word 'Bureau' suggests a body of officials actively engaged in a public office along with the respective apparatus of material implements and the files. It appears that the word bureaucracy as such has been derived from the word 'Bureau'. Morstein Marx has given it a French pedigree and points out that it was first used in French form 'bureaucratic' by a French Minister of Commerce in the eighteenth century to refer to the Government in operation. It went to Germany during the nineteenth century as 'Burokratic'. It has since found its way into English and many other languages and Morstein Marx counts it as amongst the notorious words of our age.³

According to Heinzen, the term spread during the nineteenth century to many European countries, signifying the torturous procedures, narrow outlook, and high-handed manner of autocratic government officials.⁴ The word, thus,

¹Ferrel Heady, *Public Administration : A Comparative Perspective*, New Jersey : Prentice Hall, 1966, p. 16

²Reinhard Bendix, 'Bureaucracy', in David L. Sills (ed.), *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. 2, USA : Macmillan and Free Press, 1968, p. 206

³Quoted by Ferrel Heady, *op cit.*, p. 16

⁴Quoted by Bendix, *op cit.*, p. 206.

systems. The following, according to Weber, may be said to be the fundamental categories of rational-legal authority :

1. Official functions are bound by rules and organized on a continuous basis.
2. There is a 'specified sphere of competence', based on systematic division of labour. Necessary authority is given to the incumbent to carry out the functions.
3. 'The organization of offices follows the principle of hierarchy.'
4. The rules according to which work is conducted may be either technical or rational. Technical training thus becomes necessary.
5. There is complete separation of property belonging to the organization and personal property of the official.
6. The office holder cannot appropriate his office.
7. 'Administrative acts, decisions, and rules are formulated and recorded in writing.'
8. Legal authority systems can take many forms, but they are purest in a bureaucratic administrative staff.

The purest type of exercise of legal authority is that which employs a bureaucratic administrative staff. Excepting the supreme chief of the organization who occupies his position by virtue of appropriation, of election, or through succession, the administrative staff in the purest type is appointed and functions according to the following criteria :

1. The officials are personally free, and observe impersonal official duties.
2. 'They are organized in a clearly defined hierarchy of offices.'
3. 'Each office has a clearly defined sphere of competence in the legal sense.'
4. 'The office is filled by a free contractual relationship.'
5. Officials are not elected but appointed on the basis of technical qualifications. Competence is tested by competitive examination or guaranteed by diplomas.
6. Officials get salaries graded according to rank.
7. The office is treated as the primary occupation of the incumbent.

cracy has been so great and continuous that Fred Katz observes :

It is probably fair to say that recent sociological theories of complex organization are a series of footnotes to Weber ¹²

It would, therefore, be appropriate to say that Weber's theory of bureaucracy is both a chief source of inspiration for organizational research by contemporary American sociologists and also their primary object of criticism ¹³

Weber gave the term a scientific and systematized connotation making it a value-free concept. He delineated ideal-typical characteristics of bureaucracy based on logical analysis of comparative and historical data. According to Weber, the decisive reason for the advance of bureaucratic organization is its purely technical superiority over any other form.¹⁴ 'Precision, speed, unambiguity, knowledge of the files, continuity, discretion, unity, strict subordination, reduction of friction and of material and personal costs—these are raised to the optimum point in the strictly bureaucratic organization, and specially in its monocratic form.'¹⁵

The technical superiority of bureaucracy logically rests upon its conformity to the ideal-typical characteristics as enunciated by Weber. Any study of bureaucracy, appropriately, has to begin with a discussion of Weber's ideal-typical characteristics.

It has been said that Weber did not define bureaucracy.¹⁶ He, instead, specified the features of what he considered the most rational form of bureaucracy.¹⁷ On the basis of his conception of legitimacy Weber was able to formulate eight propositions regarding the structuring of legal authority

¹²Fred Katz, 'School as a Complex Social Organization', *Harvard Education Review*, 34 (Fall 1964), p. 431.

¹³William Delans, 'The Development and Decline of Patrimonial and Bureaucratic Administration', *Administrative Sc. Quarterly*, Vol. VII, 1962-63, p. 458

¹⁴Max Weber, *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, H.H. Gerth and C.W. Mills (edited and translated), New York: Oxford University Press, 1958, p. 214

¹⁵*Ibid*, p. 214.

¹⁶Martin Albrow, *Bureaucracy*, London: Macmillan, 1970, p. 40.

¹⁷*Ibid*, p. 41.

essentially with the macroscopic level of the operation of bureaucracy. The question is whether Weber's formulation could be useful in research focussed on microscopic level, where internal processes of control, communication, decision-making and personal adjustment are involved. Delanis believes that for studies related to these fields Weber's contribution is more often a hindrance than a help.²³

It is also suggested that Weber's construct is partially limited in its applicability to the social and political context in which he lived.²⁴ Related to this aspect is another question: can Weber's model be useful for the study of bureaucracy in developing-traditional societies or is it pre-eminently suited only for European societies characterized by a high degree of industrialization and complex organizations? There are a very few scientific studies of bureaucracy in cross-cultural and cross-societal context. However, it appears that the Weberian model can be applied as a set of hypotheses which call for verification and empirical examination.✓

Weber, the most influential of the structuralist founders, was concerned with the distribution of power among the organizational positions in the bureaucratic structure and this represents the 'formal' element of his work.²⁵

His emphasis on structural aspects neglects the behavioural aspect of the study of bureaucracy. From Weber onwards most authors have stressed the structural dimensions of bureaucracy with substantive agreement among them.²⁶ Hall has tabulated the characteristics of bureaucracy as listed by a number of authors which supports the contention.²⁷

Weber has, however, overemphasized the formal aspect of bureaucracy. Formal view of bureaucracy alone fails to take into account the importance of informal organizations. Informal organizations are so much a part of the formal

²³Delanis, *op. cit.*, p. 461.

²⁴Jacob, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

²⁵Etzioni, *op. cit.*, p. 50

²⁶Heady, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-19.

²⁷Richard H. Hall, 'Intra-organizational Structural Variation: Application of Bureaucratic Model', *Administrative Science Quarterly*, VII, No. 3, 1962, pp. 295-308.

8. There is a system of promotion according to seniority or merit or both. It constitutes a career.
9. The official does not own the means of administration.
10. He is subject to strict and systematic discipline and control in the conduct of the office.¹⁸

Through delineation of the ideal-typical characteristics Weber attempts to present a universal model of bureaucracy. His emphasis on formal aspects needs a careful examination of the model.

Critique of Weber

It is evident that Weber was concerned with official regulations and requirements and their significance in relation to efficiency.¹⁹ Weber's analysis of bureaucracy is thus a functional one. He assumed that the postulated characteristics of bureaucracy would contribute to highest degree of effective goal achievement.²⁰ He was not concerned with the operational aspect of the ideal-typical characteristics. His analysis, thus, ignored the fact that in the course of functioning new elements arise in the internal structure of bureaucracy and its adaptive forms, that influence its subsequent operations.²¹ Weber was so concerned to point out the functional utility of a rational-legal bureaucratic system that he failed to pay attention to these internal characteristics that inhibit the rational goal achievement.²²

Another point of discussion relates to the level of analysis and adequacy of Weberian Model. Weber's concern has been

¹⁸These characteristics have been delineated from : Max Weber, *Theory of Social and Economic Organization* (translated and edited by Talcott Parsons), A.M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons, New York : The Free Press, 1968, pp. 330-334.

¹⁹Peter M. Blau, *The Dynamics of Bureaucracy*, Chicago : The University of Chicago Press, 1963, p. 2.

²⁰Blau, *Bureaucracy in Modern Society*, op. cit., p. 32.

²¹Blau, *The Dynamics of Bureaucracy*, op. cit., p. 2.

²²Charles E. Jacob, *Policy and Bureaucracy*, Princeton, New Jersey : D. van Nostrand Co., 1966, p. 38.

quences of bureaucratic organization. Interestingly, Gouldner's study reveals that the seemingly predictable relationship among variables may not be there; for example anxiety concerning promotion, wage increase or job insecurity, may produce greater motivation and inter-personal competition and thus increase productivity rather than otherwise.³⁵ This suggests how apparently non-rational features could also increase efficiency.

A more potent question relating to dysfunctions is with regard to treatment of procedures and rules leading to delay, red-tapism, unresponsiveness, 'trained incapacity', self-centredness, corruption, avoidance of personal responsibility, and quest for power often in petty ways.³⁶ Such criticisms may be particularly relevant for public bureaucracy. In fact, for a ruling bureaucracy, the phenomenon of power becomes so significant that its very possession becomes the highest goal.³⁷

Aspects of personality have now been studied by some scholars in relation to bureaucracy. Merton's analysis is very significant in this connection.³⁸ Studies by William Whyte,³⁹ Argyris,⁴⁰ Mills⁴¹ have also highlighted some crucial issues in this regard. Studies related to social background and sub-culture of bureaucrats have also been undertaken although these have not yet attracted the wider attention of sociologists. Such empirical studies indicate new meaningful areas in the scientific study of bureaucracy. Thus, Weber's formulation of bureaucracy as an ideal-type precludes many sociological and social-psychological aspects of this phenomenon from the domain of analysis.

³⁵Gouldner, *op. cit.*

³⁶Marshall E. Dimock, *Administrative Vitality*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959, p. 2.

³⁷E. Strauss, *The Ruling Servants*, London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1961, p. 87.

³⁸Merton, *op. cit.*

³⁹William Whyte, *The Organization Man*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1956.

⁴⁰Chris Argyris, *Personality and Organization*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957.

⁴¹C. Wright Mills, *White Collar*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1956.

organizations that the latter cannot exist without the former.²⁸ Informal organizations are inevitable and universally existent parts of formal organization having certain consequences on the functioning of bureaucracy. Some of the recent studies have analyzed very ably informal organizations as they operate in bureaucracy. Blau discusses informal organization in federal law enforcement agency and how it leads to cohesiveness and efficiency.²⁹ Such informal activities are not simply stray deviations but form consistent patterns which become new elements of organization.³⁰ Earlier studies of human relation movement had revealed the impact of informal organization on formal organization. The inspiration for this school came from Hawthorne study, leading to a number of other systematized formulations.³¹ Informality is not only inevitable but could be functional or dysfunctional for the achievement of the organizational goals. It may lead to enhanced morale and increased productivity. Alternatively it may lead to formation of cliques, and inter-group or inter-personal antagonism.

Yet other studies in bureaucracy have focussed upon and delineated areas of dysfunctions. Although the basic motive of a bureaucratic system is the rational and efficient achievement of goals as Weber emphasised, it is undeniable that bureaucracy carries with it seeds of its own inefficiency. Preoccupation with the procedural niceties may lead to losing sight of substantive goals. The analyses of Merton,³² Gouldner³³ and Selznick³⁴ have suggested important dysfunctional conse-

²⁸Chester I. Barnard, *The Functions of Executive*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1948.

²⁹Blau, *The Dynamics of Bureaucracy*, op. cit., pp. 50-52.

³⁰Ibid., p. 3.

³¹F. J. Roethlisberger and William J. Dickson, *Management and the Worker*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939. Current studies include, Burleigh B. Gardiner and David G. Moore, *Human Relations in Industry*, Chicago: Richard D. Irwin, 1955; and Keith Davis, *Human Relations in Business*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1957.

³²R. K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957.

³³A. W. Gouldner, *Patterns of Industrial Bureaucracy*, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1954.

³⁴P. Selznick, *TVA and the Grass Roots*, Berkeley: University of California, 1953.

quences of bureaucratic organization. Interestingly, Gouldner's study reveals that the seemingly predictable relationship among variables may not be there; for example anxiety concerning promotion, wage increase or job insecurity, may produce greater motivation and inter-personal competition and thus increase productivity rather than otherwise.³⁵ This suggests how apparently non-rational features could also increase efficiency.

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³⁵Gouldner, *op. cit.*

³⁶Marshall E. Dimock, *Administrative Vitality*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959, p. 2.

³⁷E. Strauss, *The Ruling Servants*, London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1961, p. 87.

³⁸Merton, *op. cit.*

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⁴⁰Chris Argyris, *Personality and Organization*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957.

⁴¹C. Wright Mills, *White Collar*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1956.

Since there is only one model of bureaucracy there has been a tendency to emphasize similarities and to consider differences as exceptions and isolated facts.⁴² It is for this reason that Etzioni has emphasized comparative analysis of complex organizations.⁴³ He mentions the studies of Granick⁴⁴ regarding industrial management in Soviet Russia, of Fallers⁴⁵ regarding analysis of Bantu bureaucracy, of Caplow⁴⁶ about Navy, and of Janowitz's⁴⁷ study of combat armies to show that Weber's model does not fit in the organizations they studied.

Some Other Studies

It shall be pertinent to mention that apart from Weber's contribution literature on organization and bureaucracy has grown vastly although with differential emphasis on diverse dimensions. Apart from sociological studies we have biographical accounts of executives and administrators, social-psychological studies of leadership and morale, studies of political scientists on public administration and of economists on business firms.⁴⁸ Studies in the field of industrial bureaucracy became popular and important along with the growth of industries and technological expansion. Taylor was interested in the practical problem of efficiency.⁴⁹ Elton Mayo conducted studies to examine human relations and their impact on

⁴²Amitai Etzioni, *Complex Organizations*, New York : The Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1961, p. XIII.

⁴³*Ibid.*

⁴⁴D. Granick, *Management of the Industrial Firm in the USSR*, New York : Columbia University Press, 1954.

⁴⁵L.A. Fallers, *Bantu Bureaucracy*, Cambridge, England : W. Heffer, 1956.

⁴⁶T. Caplow, 'The Criteria of Organizational Success', *Social Force*, 32, 1953, pp. 1-9.

⁴⁷M. Janowitz, *Sociology and the Military Establishment*, New York : Russell Sage Foundation, 1959.

⁴⁸James G. March and Herbert A. Simon, *Organizations*, New York : John Wiley and Sons, 1959, p. 5.

⁴⁹F.W. Taylor, *Principles and Methods of Scientific Management*, New York : Harper and Bros., 1912.

strictly defined but would be fluid according to functional necessity. There shall be no predominantly personality 'style'. Supervisory or management positions would be periodically assigned by total staff decision and organization shall operate with overlapping administrative roles, so that one person may be over another in one functional area but under him in another area.⁶¹

Many recent studies in the field have not been confined to only business and governmental bureaucracies where Weberian model has been applied more frequently but have analyzed prisons, universities, hospitals, research organizations, political parties, schools, churches and military organizations as well.

Bureaucracy in India

Before we formulate specific issues for discussions it is necessary to present a historical perspective of administration in India. This will help in the understanding of the impact of cumulative historical forces on the present institution. Bureaucracy in the modern sense did not exist in ancient India. The need for order and centralized administration did exist. However, the procedure of coordination was not formulated on rational grounds but was based on the paternalism of the king. The popular concept of Ram Rajya deified the king. The Mughal historians compared the king to the father. The British took over the concept of 'Ma-baap Sarkar' much against their own concept of *laissez-faire*.

The administrative institutions in India are ancient in origin. A strong central autocracy was necessary since chaos and conflict in some form or other continually existed. However, distances were so great and places so far off that in the absence of their proper interconnection, local customs prevailed and villages acquired a certain amount of autonomy.

⁶¹Orion F. White, 'The Dialectical Organization', *PAR*, J/Feb/69, p. 38.

Kautilya gave an elaborate treatise on proper administration for the first time.⁶² It relates to the system of land tenure, collection of taxes, state regulation of trade and industries, division of provinces into sub-divisions, distribution of work into various departments, etc.

The State activities were mainly confined to the maintenance of law and order, indulgence in battles and wars, fought either to protect territory or for adventure and glory. Only during peace, attention could be given to welfare activities. Administration was in the hands of the elite based on particularism. This led to recruitment in administration on the basis of caste, heredity and selected families.⁶³ Life of luxury, patronage of art, material affluence, were associated with kings and high administrators. There was a great gap between the ruler and the ruled. The structural elements of administration were loose and not well established and institutionalized. The personal character and temperament of the king and his Ministers often determined the nature of administration.

The Mughal Pattern

Mughals who came as conquerors had a distinct cultural pattern, style of life, language and religion. They maintained their separate identity. Large amounts of money were spent on the maintenance of army and on curbing internal disturbances. Mughal kings lived in great pomp and luxury but this regal magnificence was no test of national prosperity.⁶⁴ The entire administration was under the constant threat of conspiracy. Administration, both in procedure and personnel, did not have staying power. It changed according to the whims and caprices of the ruler. Kaye suggests that Muslims were despots. The luxurious selfishness of the emperor

⁶²R. P. Kaugle, *The Kautilya Arthashastra*, Part II, Bombay : University of Bombay, 1963.

⁶³Tarachand, *History of the Freedom Movement in India*, Vol. I, Delhi : Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Govt of India, 1961, p. 152.

⁶⁴J. W. Kaye, *The Administration of the East India Company*, Allahabad : Kitab Mahal, 1966, p. 391.

depressed and enfeebled the people.⁶⁵ The beneficence of the Mughal emperor was personal and accidental.⁶⁶ Some emperors did make organizational innovations. But there was no in-built mechanism whereby innovations could have been institutionalized and historical continuity maintained. There was no principle or theory in the system of government which was either documented and legally or traditionally handed over from one king to another. Thus no stable structure of administration could be built.

Mass contact of administrators was most visible at the time of revenue collection, which quite often needed coercion. For masses, thus, administration had a negative and unfavourable connotation. Officials were the representative of the king and could not be underestimated.⁶⁷ Awe, respect, and fear got associated with the image of officials and led to corruption.

Art, architecture, music, poetry flourished due to the patronage of the kings. However, these aspects of culture never got diffused at the mass level. This enhanced the gap between the ruler and the ruled. Administration was neither secular nor welfare-oriented in principle. In its organizational aspect, systematization depended on freaks. Decision-making and power were centralized. Written documents hardly existed. Justice was based on personal evaluation.

Historically, by far India did not have a well-knit political unity although its cultural unity was manifested through common scriptures, traditions, religion and gods, sacred places spread throughout the country, institution of caste, joint family and the name of the country.

⁶⁵*Ibid.*, p. 42.

⁶⁶*Ibid.*, p. 40.

⁶⁷The following terms were used for administrators during Mughal period:

Karori—revenue collector, Bikikchi—writer, Ganjur—Treasurer, Diwan—Revenue administrator, Mutsaddi—Executive officials, Sipah Salar—Head of army, Nizam—Head of the province, Bakshi—Pay master, Sadr—head of the religious department, Qazi—chief judge of province, Kotwal—incharge of internal defence, health, sanitation, Mir Bahr—incharge of port duties, boat and ferry taxes. These names have been taken from the following two books: (a) P. Saran, *The Provincial Government of the Mughals*, Allahabad: Kitabistan, 1941. (b) R. P. Tripathi, *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration*, Allahabad: Central Book Depot, 1959.

The British Impact

Continuing British influence on administration is easier to see because it is both alien and more specific.⁶⁸ The British period is characterized by the unification of the whole country and a single political rule which became possible through an elaborate administrative system. The elaborate administrative system was necessitated due to the colonial nature of the rule. A country was ruled by another separated by a distance of thousands of miles, having an altogether different culture, religion, language, style of life, and level of technological advancement. The difference was more pronounced as compared to the system under the Muslims—who were an oriental family.⁶⁹ The reaction of most of the Englishmen to Hindu society was initially that of abhorrence as they saw a number of social evils, for example, sanctification of burning women alive, marrying little girls to old men, throwing of young children to crocodiles.⁷⁰

Britishers initially came with motives of trade and profit. This implies commercial origin of the government of India.⁷¹ The East India Company was established in 1608. The administrative character of the company was fixed by the Act of Parliament of 1773 which gave the Governor-General and Council authority to frame, from time to time, rules and regulations.⁷² The Mughals had lost hold and they were busy fighting the Marathas and other kings. The nominal sovereigns were indolent and sunk in debauchery and idleness. It became a most opportune time for Britishers to expand their area of political subjugation. Gradually by 1800 order had been established, settlement of revenue was accomplished and the district officers were firmly established as the basis of adminis-

⁶⁸Gurthrie S. Birkhead, 'Introduction' in Gurthrie S. Birkhead (ed.), *Administrative Problems in Pakistan*, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1966, p. 9.

⁶⁹Kaye, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-50

⁷⁰P. Woodruff, *The Men Who Ruled India*, Vol. I, London: Jonathan Cape, 1965, p. 242.

⁷¹A. R. Tyagi, *The Civil Service in a Developing Society*, Delhi: Sterling Publishers (P) Ltd, 1969, p. 7.

⁷²Kaye, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

Britishers.⁷⁸ The majority of the pioneer candidates were members of 'fringe' community because of the fear of the loss of caste by crossing the sea.⁷⁹ It was not until the Lee Commission (1924) which planned a phased programme of Indianization that the number of Indian ICS increased.⁸⁰ After 1943, there was no recruitment to the Indian Civil Service. It could be said that the attitude and structure of the entire bureaucracy in India has been moulded by a relatively small elite cadre—Indian Civil Service—which consisted of 1,157 members at the time of independence in 1947.⁸¹

The British administration was geared to maintenance of law and order and collection of taxes. It suited eminently the aim of governing a colonial empire.⁸² It was responsible for the formulation of common law and pattern of adjudication, field administration, filing and noting system, but had a supreme elitist attitude.⁸³ According to Braibanti, the principal features which distinguished the modern British Civil Service are open entry based on competitive examinations, permanency of tenure, a division into ranks, a regular graduated scale of pay, and a system of promotion based on seniority and merit.⁸⁴ These characteristics conform to the ideal-typical characteristics of bureaucracy and suggest formulation and development of a rational-administrative system for the first time in governmental administration in India.

But the members of the higher civil service had oligarchic leanings.⁸⁵ They had high concentration of powers and privi-

⁷⁸Hugh Tinker, 'Structure of the British Imperial Heritage', in Ralph Braibanti (ed.), *Asian Bureaucratic Systems Emergent from the British Imperial Tradition*, Durham: Duke University Press, 1966, p. 54.

⁷⁹*Ibid.*, p. 54.

⁸⁰W. H. Morris-Jones, *The Government and Politics of India*, London: Hutchinson University Library, 1967, p. 23.

⁸¹Ralph Braibanti, 'Reflection on Bureaucratic Reform in India', in Ralph Braibanti and Joseph J. Spengler (eds.), *Administration and Economic Development in India*, Durham: Duke University Press, 1963, p. 3.

⁸²Birkhead, *op cit.*, p. 9.

⁸³*Ibid.*, pp. 9-12.

⁸⁴Tinker, *op cit.*, p. 24.

⁸⁵Bernard Houghton, *Bureaucratic Government: A Study in Indian Policy*, Madras: G.A. Nateson and Co., 1921, p. 18.

leges. In a country where any kind of government employment carried appropriate prestige, membership of the highest service elevated a man into a social stratosphere. The service was the sole repository of powers⁸⁶ It is, therefore, not surprising that the Indian Civil Service exercised fascination over the high-caste educated Indian youth. It provided good income, power, and high status.⁸⁷ The status of the ICS was evident from the large amount of dowry which an ICS could command on marriage.⁸⁸ It was an organization of stable traditions, exciting work, and high status.⁸⁹ Public opinion was hardly cared for. It was strong in everything, except in consulting people.⁹⁰

The government's policy in matters of development activities was not intended to realize the hopes and goals of a nation, but was oriented towards a pragmatic view to making administration more effective. Individual efforts on the part of some enlightened administrators did help in the elimination of certain social evils. Railways, post, telegraph and telephone systems were instituted, with a view to administering more effectively a nation which had a wide and vast territory. Even education was imparted with a view to having low paid clerks to help administration. The result of this policy was that by the time the British left only 10 per cent were educated in the country, and the country's need for doctors, engineers, and technicians was completely ignored.⁹¹

A new culture emerged as a result of continuous British rule. Railways for transportation, industries for large scale production, and universities for learning had been established. Newspapers had multiplied and radio had reached far distant places But these technological innovations and their impact on

⁸⁶Morris-Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

⁸⁷Richard P. Taub, *Bureaucrats Under Stress*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969, p. 10.

⁸⁸*Ibid*, p. 11.

⁸⁹*Ibid*, p. 14.

⁹⁰Keith Callard, *Pakistan—A Political Study*, London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1957, p. 282

⁹¹Tyagi, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-4.

society did not reflect the achievement of the government but reflected the spirit of the time.⁹²

The civil servant in India was an adept generalist. He could be placed in any position and was found fit in it. There was no department—police, forest, opium, salt, education, health—where he could not be posted. This tradition continues to exist even after independence in the country and we find, apart from the erstwhile positions which higher civil servants held, new positions of governorship and ambassadorship also have come to be manned by the higher civil servants. This has wide ranging repercussions on the administrative morale and attitude of the public. The public developed greater awe for the members of higher civil service as its area of power and influence was all-pervading. The higher civil service has been a closed-group, having a feeling of distinctiveness. Its smallness has led to greater internal coherence and exclusiveness.

The new type of government was entirely a new experience for Indians. The new sovereign was not a person in flesh and blood as India had known but an abstraction. Its agents had either short term office or were changed due to transfers. In their perplexity they clothed the sovereign with a concrete personality and gave it the designation *Kampani Bahadur*.⁹³ Thus, the British rule in India was different from the earlier ones. In the past it only meant change in dynasty. British rule, directly or indirectly, eventually led to change in the social fabric, the productive organization, the property relations, and the system of administration.⁹⁴ A new middle class emerged which was urban, educated, and which imitated western style of life and manners of the rulers. Certain institutional changes and formal innovations do bring, in their processes of operation, consequences which are not intended. These consequences can generate new hopes and aspirations which the innovators could have not wished or anticipated.

⁹²M R. Masani, 'Too Much Politics, Too Little Citizenship', *Public Affairs Pamphlet* No. 17, Gokhale Institute of Public Affairs, Bangalore, March 1969, p. 4.

⁹³Tarachand, *op. cit.*, p. 250.

⁹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 290.

Continuity of British Administrative Traditions in the New Setting

In 1947 the British withdrew with the transfer of power to Indians. But the great machine of administration remained intact—not as a description in text-books, not only as a manual of office-procedures, physical buildings and human bodies, but as established habits, prejudices, interests and expectations amongst government officials and in the citizens.⁶⁵ In fact there has not been any significant break with the past despite political denunciation of the administrative system established under the British rule.⁶⁶ It was difficult to radically change an administrative machinery which had eminently suited the task of maintenance of law and order in a vast and heterogeneous country like India and which was credited with establishing political unification of the country. As a formal structure it was based on rational criteria of systematic coordination of activities through well-formulated rules and procedures. The administrative traditions did include rule-efficiency, impartiality, and understanding of certain problems of the country. Above all, it had cumulative experience to its credit with the result that the need for erstwhile administrative machinery was felt all the more greatly on the eve of independence when the British left the country rather abruptly. It should be mentioned here that national unity and internal order were the two important contributions of the higher civil service.⁶⁷

The new government which emerged in the wake of the long struggle for independence was headed by enlightened national leaders. The government had to deal with tremendous administrative tasks right from the beginning. Apart from the routine tasks of administration and specific new problems emergent in the wake of partition, the integration of princely states, reorganization of various states, commitment to welfare state, rural

⁶⁵Morris-Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

⁶⁶Ralph Braibanti, 'Concluding Observations', in Braibanti, *op. cit.*, p. 643.

⁶⁷David Potter, 'Bureaucratic Change in India', in Braibanti, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

upliftment, industrial growth, eradication of poverty, required a new administrative outlook, orientation, structure and functioning.

The bureaucracy, nurtured in the colonial and imperial tradition, was faced with new tasks. One of the reasons for the gap between goals envisaged by the constitution and their achievement is the dissonance between traditional continuity of colonial administration and new goals necessitating a completely new structure and outlook. The changed context of administration meant some new features in its working.

Functioning of bureaucracy under the democratically elected political bosses is a new phenomenon. Many of the politicians who had despised civil servants prior to independence were to work with the assistance of these bureaucrats. The exclusiveness and authoritarianism of bureaucracy have been influenced by the association of public men in various advisory committees, public discussion of the administration in assemblies and in Parliament, and the scheme of democratic decentralization at the village level.

Various factors have thus influenced functioning of IAS Officers. The composition of the IAS has changed. Its functions have also undergone changes. The superior power position of elected politicians has emerged. New professions and non-governmental positions of higher salary and prestige have rapidly come up. Yet, in the districts, towns, and villages the public bureaucrats, especially the high bureaucrats, still enjoy power and inspire awe and respect.

Braibanti says :

*India might have chosen to abolish IAS by substituting more dynamic institutions. There is, however, no move to abolish IAS or to amalgamate all cadres into one common service.*¹¹

The concept of welfare state has been accepted. The government is committed to democracy; lately, it has emphasized more vigorously its commitment to socialism. Developmental and nation-building activities are amongst the first priorities of

¹¹Braibanti, 'Reflections on Bureaucratic Reform in India', in Braibanti and Spengler, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

government. The execution of such activities is dependent upon the administrative machinery.

There is greater penetration of governmental activities in rural areas. For the first time, a large number of government officials visit villages not only to collect revenue and other taxes but to educate, to help in improving agricultural yield, to conduct elections, to build roads and bridges, to advocate family planning, and to help the sick and ailing persons. Most of the villages have now been well connected by means of transport and communication, post-office, and other amenities. At no point of time in history has there been such a penetration by government machinery in the relatively isolated villages of India. It is again the governmental administration which has to be responsible for the execution of these tasks.

The enormous tasks and their diversity have enlarged the number of government officials at all levels. The spheres of activities with which bureaucracy has to deal after independence could be categorized as follows :

1. *Developmental*—Community development, schemes of economic, agricultural, and cultural development.
2. *Socio-political problematic*—Linguistic troubles, communal riots, reorganization of states, violence and other agitational problems.
3. *Nationally significant*—Defence and security from external invasion.
4. *Maintenance of law and order*—Internal.

The area of bureaucratic functioning has enlarged. The structure of administration built by the British was meant to serve their colonial needs. It was not necessarily the structure best suited to conditions of sovereignty.⁹⁹ Can the colonial administrative structure be functional in a free and democratic country committed to socialistic pattern of society ? The discussion of higher civil service is pertinent since its members are creators of administrative traditions and formu-

⁹⁹*Ibid*, p 9.

lators of its values. Unless there is flexibility, democratization and commitment to programmes, the apathetic, indifferent, power consciousness, and corrupt behaviour associated with bureaucracy in India will obstruct the realization of the set goals of the government. Certainly, India continues to be faced with formidable administrative problems. Administration does not function merely on its formal organizational chart or structure. There are number of dimensions associated with bureaucratic organization and its functioning—apart from formal-legal—which need careful analysis, to understand the totality of the implications of bureaucratic phenomenon. The social background of the bureaucrats, their subculture, their commitment to certain values, personality type, nature of informal relationship, the job-satisfaction and dysfunctions of bureaucracy, all these aspects need empirical examination from a sociological perspective.

The present study attempts an analysis of the above aspects of bureaucracy. Since our study refers to the structure and function of bureaucracy in Rajasthan, it may be useful to trace a brief history of the growth of this institution in this State.

Bureaucracy in Rajasthan

Rajasthan has a distinctive history and a socio-cultural pattern of life. Prior to its integration, it was divided into twenty-two principalities. Most of what is Rajasthan today was created in the years 1948 and 1949, following India's independence. The State had no prior history as a single political unit.¹⁰⁰ No part of the State (excepting Ajmer) was under direct British rule. The different regions were ruled by princely rulers who were, in turn, under the surveillance of the British Agent.¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ Lawrence L. Shradet, 'Rajasthan', in Myron Weiner, *State Politics in India*, Princeton, New Jersey : Princeton University Press, 1968, p. 321.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 322.

Rajasthan is located on the north-western border of India and lies between 22°3' and 33°12' north latitude and 69°33' and 78°18' east longitude. It has an area of about 1,32,147 square miles and a population of some 20 million.¹⁰³

The administration of small principalities functioned on the basis of hereditary kingship. Normally the ruler had a Diwan (Chief Minister) who assisted him in day-to-day administration. There were a few other officials who were appointed by the ruler and served during his pleasure.¹⁰³ The source of legitimacy of the power of the ruler was based on (a) conquest in the battles, (b) the principle of primogeniture in succession along with the family line. The ruler ruled over his territory in two ways (a) by direct control and involvement in the administration or delegation of his authority to officials, and (b) allocation of responsibility and authority to the Jagirdars who, in turn, exercised control over the people within their fixed territory. The source of legitimation of the Jagir authority was based on (a) succession in family line, (b) grant of the estate by the ruler, formalized ceremoniously in lieu of the recognition of exceptional services rendered.

The British did not take over the States for administration, excepting a few on the ground of maladministration, but exercised control over them. The administrative structure of each State was indigenous. 552 of the Indian States were in different stages of social, political and economic development.¹⁰⁴ There was great heterogeneity and disparity in size,

¹⁰³*Ibid.*, p. 321.

According to the provisional figures of 1971 Census the details about Rajasthan are as under :

1. Population - Total - 25,724,142. Male—13,442,056, Female—12,282,086. 2. Growth Rate 1941-71 - 27.63 per cent. 3. Density of Population per square kilometre 75 persons. 4. Sex ratio per 1,000 Males : 914 Females. 5. Proportion of urban population to total population 17.61 per cent. 6. Literacy - Total 18.79 per cent, Male 28.42 per cent, Female 8.26 per cent. By the size of population, Rajasthan stands tenth in the order of rank amongst the various States of the country.

Source: *Census of India 1971, Rajasthan, Provisional Population Totals*, Jaipur: Director of Census Operation, Rajasthan, 1971, pp. 1-10.

¹⁰⁴B. P. Gupta, *Growth of Administration in Bikaner State 1818 to 1947*, Ph.D. Thesis, unpublished, University of Rajasthan, Jaipur, p. 16.

¹⁰⁵Ashoka Chandra, *Indian Administration*, London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1960, p. 13.

revenue, nature of administration and general socio-political awareness. By 1820 all the princes had been enmeshed in the web of British Paramountcy. The Queen's proclamation of 1858 gave grateful recognition to the loyal role the princes had played during the upheaval of 1857.¹⁰⁵ The policy of British government towards Indian States was that of non-interference. The Indian States were kept out of the scope of parliamentary legislation introduced from time to time to expand the democratic institutions in the British Indian Provinces. The Provincial part of the Act of 1935 was introduced in 1937, but this did not make any provision regarding the internal administration of the Indian States. The States continued with their archaic autocratic forms of government.¹⁰⁶

On the eve of independence paramountcy lapsed. The survival of the Indian States was to depend on the successor authorities and the rulers.¹⁰⁷ Some States thought of regional federation, some wanted dominion status by declaring themselves independent—a proposal which was emphatically negated by Lord Mountbatten.¹⁰⁸ The Government of India, through the tactful handling of Sardar Patel and Menon, were able to get the Instrument of Accession and Stand Still Agreement accepted with the Indian States. The integration of the various States of Rajasthan was accomplished in certain phases. It was on 1st November, 1956 that finally Ajmer, the centrally administered part 'C' State, Abu a part of erstwhile Sirohi State, and Sunel Tappa were integrated with Rajasthan following the recommendations of States Reorganization Commission.¹⁰⁹

The integration of the States of Rajasthan was done in five stages. The first was the formation of the Matsya Union in which the States of Alwar, Bharatpur, Dholpur and Karauli were included. The second was the

¹⁰⁵*Ibid.*, p. 17.

¹⁰⁶Ashoka Chanda, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

¹⁰⁷*Ibid.*, p. 22.

¹⁰⁸V.P. Menon, *The Story of the Integration of the Indian States*, Calcutta: Orient Longman, 1956, pp 76-80.

¹⁰⁹*Report of the Administrative Reforms Committee, Government of Rajasthan*, Jaipur: Govt. of Rajasthan, 1963, p. 7.

Rajasthan is located on the north-western border of India and lies between 22°3' and 33°12' north latitude and 69°33' and 78°18' east longitude. It has an area of about 1,32,147 square miles and a population of some 20 million.¹⁰¹

The administration of small principalities functioned on the basis of hereditary kingship. Normally the ruler had a Diwan (Chief Minister) who assisted him in day-to-day administration. There were a few other officials who were appointed by the ruler and served during his pleasure.¹⁰² The source of legitimacy of the power of the ruler was based on (a) conquest in the battles, (b) the principle of primogeniture in succession along with the family line. The ruler ruled over his territory in two ways (a) by direct control and involvement in the administration or delegation of his authority to officials, and (b) allocation of responsibility and authority to the Jagirdars who, in turn, exercised control over the people within their fixed territory. The source of legitimation of the Jagir authority was based on (a) succession in family line, (b) grant of the estate by the ruler, formalized ceremoniously in lieu of the recognition of exceptional services rendered.

The British did not take over the States for administration, excepting a few on the ground of maladministration, but exercised control over them. The administrative structure of each State was indigenous. 252 of the Indian States were in different stages of social, political and economic development.¹⁰³ There was great heterogeneity and disparity in size,

¹⁰¹*Ibid*, p. 321

According to the provisional figures of 1971 Census the details about Rajasthan are as under :

1. Population : Total : 25,721,142. Male—13,442,056, Female—12,282,086. 2. Growth Rate 1961-71 : 27.63 per cent. 3. Density of Population per square kilometre 75 persons. 4. Sex-ratio per 1,000 Males : 914 Females. 5. Proportion of urban population to total population 17.61 per cent. 6. Literacy : Total 18.79 per cent, Male 28.42 per cent, Female 8.26 per cent. By the size of population, Rajasthan stands tenth in the order of rank amongst the various States of the country.

Source : *Census of India 1971, Rajasthan, Provisional Population Totals*, Jaipur : Director of Census Operation, Rajasthan, 1971, pp. 1-10.

¹⁰²B. P. Gupta, *Growth of Administration in Bikaner State 1818 to 1947*, Ph.D. Thesis, unpublished, University of Rajasthan, Jaipur, p. 16.

¹⁰³Ashoka Chandra, *Indian Administration*, London : George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1960, p. 13.

revenue, nature of administration and general socio-political awareness. By 1820 all the princes had been enmeshed in the web of British Paramountcy. The Queen's proclamation of 1858 gave grateful recognition to the loyal role the princes had played during the upheaval of 1857.¹⁰⁵ The policy of British government towards Indian States was that of non-interference. The Indian States were kept out of the scope of parliamentary legislation introduced from time to time to expand the democratic institutions in the British Indian Provinces. The Provincial part of the Act of 1935 was introduced in 1937, but this did not make any provision regarding the internal administration of the Indian States. The States continued with their archaic autocratic forms of government.¹⁰⁶

On the eve of independence paramountcy lapsed. The survival of the Indian States was to depend on the successor authorities and the rulers.¹⁰⁷ Some States thought of regional federation, some wanted dominion status by declaring themselves independent—a proposal which was emphatically negated by Lord Mountbatten.¹⁰⁸ The Government of India, through the tactful handling of Sardar Patel and Menon, were able to get the Instrument of Accession and Stand Still Agreement accepted with the Indian States. The integration of the various States of Rajasthan was accomplished in certain phases. It was on 1st November, 1956 that finally Ajmer, the centrally administered part 'C' State, Abu a part of erstwhile Sirohi State, and Sunel Tappa were integrated with Rajasthan following the recommendations of States Reorganization Commission.¹⁰⁹

The integration of the States of Rajasthan was done in five stages. The first was the formation of the Matsya Union in which the States of Alwar, Bharatpur, Dholpur and Karauli were included. The second was the

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

¹⁰⁶ Ashoka Chanda, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

¹⁰⁸ V.P. Menon, *The Story of the Integration of the Indian States*, Calcutta : Orient Longman, 1956, pp 76-80.

¹⁰⁹ *Report of the Administrative Reforms Committee, Government of Rajasthan*, Jaipur : Govt. of Rajasthan, 1963, p 7.

formation of the first Rajasthan Union with Banswara, Bundi, Dungarpur, Jhalawar, Kishangarh, Kotah, Partapgarh, and Tonk. The third was the inclusion of Udaipur in the above Union. In the fourth stage the remaining States of Jaipur, Jodhpur, Bikaner, and Jaisalmer were included and the fifth stage was the incorporation of the Matsya Union with the Greater Rajasthan.¹¹⁹

Sardar Patel inaugurated the Greater Rajasthan Union on 30th March 1949 by swearing in the Rajpramukh and the Premier. The administration of the Matsya Union was transferred to Rajasthan on 15th May, 1949. Sirohi was the last State to be merged with Rajasthan.

Having given a brief account of Rajasthan, we may now delineate some of the main aspects of its administration prior to integration.

1. *The nature of administration was largely personal and paternal.* The administration in many States of Rajasthan was based on oral communication and unwritten laws. It was personal and its personalized form had several features :

- (a) The kingship was based on hereditary principles.
- (b) The recruitment of officials was based on familial and caste considerations. Some official positions ran in certain specific families.
- (c) The process of decision-making was based on officers' own understanding and interpretation of rules. Personality of officials and ruler largely influenced the nature of decision. A more or less personal knowledge of subjects was implied in administration. This became possible since the size of the State was small.
- (d) Tenure of officials was not fixed. Officials remained in positions on the pleasure of the ruler. Quite often officials were changed with the passing away of the ruler.
- (e) The officials were required to look after personal comforts of ruler and his family. They were required to settle

¹¹⁹Mendon, *op. cit.*, p. 251.

matters regarding engagement and marriage of the members of royal family.

2. *Administration was power-oriented with emphasis on its smooth maintenance* : The ruler had complete concentration of power. There was no appeal against the ruler. The only choice left to rebel individuals was to leave the State. This led to exploitation and tyranny in many cases and benevolence in a few. Power concentration and its unguided and unrestrained use in the absence of well-formulated procedure had immense possibility of good or evil. Great stress was laid on acceptance of order and obedience. This was overtly expressed in modes of address and style of greetings. 'Hukum' (respectful mode of address) and 'Baro Hukum' (highly respectful mode of address) were common words of address suggesting gesture of extreme subordination.

3. *Administration had sacred elements* : Each state had its deity which the ruler worshipped and revered, both during normal times and those of strain. The State supported the temples of ruler's faith but the temple of royal family had a special significance.¹¹¹

4. *Personal life of king was characterized by luxurious living* : The ruler's life was that of a supreme elite. He patronized art and music. His luxurious life was revealed in various ways. 'Harem' was a common feature in the ruler's palace. Having a large number of queen-wives and 'paswans' (mistresses) was a status-symbol for the ruler. Construction of palaces and other monuments and patronage to art and literature, were reflections of a distinct subculture and expressions of opulence rather than taste and refinement.

5. *High sense of status-consciousness of ruler was reflected through various status-symbols* : The Crown had the right to regulate the salutes of the rulers and the right to

¹¹¹In Sirohi State, Monday was observed as a State holiday instead of Sunday, since Monday is supposed to be the day of 'Mahadeo'—the deity of royal family of Sirohi.

confer titles and decorations on them.¹¹² The rulers attached great importance to the grant of titles and salute of guns from the British. The whole question of salutes is almost a science in itself. Intrigues to obtain an increase were common.¹¹³ In return they also granted favours to their chosen subjects by permitting them to wear gold on the leg and conferring certain titles.

6 *The movement for independence was suppressed by the rulers* : Rulers and their officials opposed and tried to crush the movement for independence. The participants in the movement for independence, known as 'Praja-Mandal', had to undergo great personal sufferings. Industrialists of Rajasthan however supported the movement both financially and morally.

7. *Developmental activities and items of modernity were neglected* : The rulers, with some exceptions, did not attach any importance to the activities of development. Some rulers had even resented installation of railways in their territory. Compared to areas under British administration, the States in Rajasthan were economically and politically backward. Prior to integration the economy of Rajasthan was one of the least developed in India. There were inadequate means of transport and communication, no major industry, constant food shortages, an archaic land tenure system and a population whose literacy was less than 10 per cent.¹¹⁴

It was in this background that Rajasthan inherited the civil service of princely States. Some States had borrowed officers from ICS cadre for establishing administrative systems along British lines but these efforts were hardly successful as traditional status and family determined recruitment and not the

¹¹²Menon, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

¹¹³George Macmunn, *The Indian States and Princes*, London : Jarrolds Publishers, 1936, p. 222.

¹¹⁴Shrader, *op. cit.*, p. 369.

professional competence and education.¹¹⁵

As we have discussed above, after physical consolidation of Rajasthan, there was a need for administrative uniformity. This was very necessary as the administration in the erstwhile States was in varying degrees of development and, with a few exceptions, it was both primitive and personal.¹¹⁶ The entire administration had consisted of some tax gatherers and a few policemen.¹¹⁷ In many States there was no system of codified law.¹¹⁸

The integration of the States raised various problems connected with administrative uniformity. The fixation of various personnel drawn from the States of varying size was an urgent administrative problem. Seniority, pay, fixation, and posting were the relevant aspects of the problem. The new State was to be divided into various administrative units—districts, sub-districts and tehsils. Decisions regarding location of capital, formation of Public Service Commission, and establishment of High Court were to be taken keeping in view the sentiments of the people of different regions.¹¹⁹ Great disparities between various States existed in size, economic growth, fertility of land, modern amenities like facilities for education, medical aid, etc. Integration led to political and administrative unification of princely states which were at different levels of development.

The administration in Rajasthan was to face some peculiar problems which were regional in character. Famine and drought were peculiar to its geography. Feudalism was characteristic of its culture. Social life had certain traits of

¹¹⁵The literacy percentage according to the provisional figures of 1971 Census are : Male : 28.42 per cent, Female : 8.26 per cent, Total : 18.79 per cent. See *Census of India 1971, Rajasthan Provisional Population Totals*, op. cit., p. 7.

¹¹⁶Menon, op. cit., p. 435.

¹¹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 436.

¹¹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 439.

¹¹⁹Michael A. Gould, *Politics, Administration and Economic Development in an Indian State*, Berkeley, California : Department of Political Science, unpublished Ph D Thesis, pp. 20-21.

backwardness. Lack of economic development was evident. The new administration was required to tackle some problems in the complex context discussed above.

The Study

Having discussed the concept of bureaucracy and having given a brief survey of public bureaucracy in India and in Rajasthan, we may attempt here a discussion of some of the major issues and methodological formulations of the present study.

The studies of bureaucracy from a sociological point of view are still rare in India. There is ample historical literature tracing the growth and working of the system of governmental administration in various epochs of Indian history. But it has a different perspective and lacks a sociological interpretation. The interests of Indian sociologists prior to independence have largely centred around the study of caste and village community. Indian sociology in the post-independence period developed a heterogeneity in theoretical as well as substantive field.¹²⁰ Although new problems have been taken up for study in sociology, the field of bureaucracy has not yet attracted the focus of attention of the sociologists in India.

For the first time the Indian Sociological Conference had a section on Sociology of Administration in its Conference in 1968 at Agra. Some scattered articles did appear on bureaucracy by scholars in the field of public administration, public servants, and journalists, with fringe sociological dimensions. Biographical narrations by higher civil servants also appeared

¹²⁰Yogendra Singh, 'The Scope and Method of Sociology in India', in T.K.N. Unnithan *et al* (eds.), *Sociology for India*, New Delhi: Prentice Hall, 1967, p. 20

extensively which do reveal some aspects of sociological significance. An article by Dube provides a sound theoretical framework for sociological analysis of bureaucracy in India.¹²¹ More recently studies by Braibanti and Spengler,¹²² Braibanti¹²³ and La Palombara¹²⁴ provide some systematized material on governmental administration having significant sociological perspective. The recent book by Taub¹²⁵ entitled *Bureaucrats Under Stress* can be considered an important work based on empirical analysis in one of the capital cities of Indian States. The book, however, is confined to the higher bureaucrats in public bureaucracy. More recently the interest of some of the sociologists has been focussed on the sociological analysis of bureaucratic functioning as is evident from the four projects on bureaucracy which are being financed by the Indian Council of Social Science Research.¹²⁶ There appear to be chiefly two reasons for the neglect of the study of bureaucracy by the Indian sociologists :

- (1) Study of large scale organizations did not attract attention of such foreign sociologists who appear to have been motivated to study the unique social institutions of our country—like caste and village community. Indian

¹²¹S. C. Dube, 'Bureaucracy and Nation Building in Transitional Society', Paper submitted at Kyrenia Cyprus, April, 1963

¹²²Braibanti and Spengler (eds.), *op. cit.*

¹²³Braibanti (ed.), *op. cit.*

¹²⁴La Palombara (ed.) *Bureaucracy and Political Development*, Princeton, New Jersey : Princeton University Press, 1963.

¹²⁵Taub, *op. cit.*

¹²⁶ICSSR PROJECTS (1) Project No. 38 : 'Attitudes and Motives of Bureaucrats in relation to Development', Project Director—S.K. Srivastava (2) Project No. 39 : 'Functioning of Bureaucracy in the District with particular reference to Agricultural Development and Attitudes and Motives of the Bureaucrats in relation to Development', (Project Director—I N. Tiwari. (3) Project No. 40 : 'Functioning of Bureaucracy in a District of Gujrat', Project Director—I. P. Desai. (4) Project No. 41 : 'Functioning of Bureaucrats in the Districts of Maharashtra with special reference to Agricultural Development and Attitudes and Motives of the Bureaucrats in relation to Development', Project Director—Y.B. Damle. *Annual Report 1969-70*, Indian Council of Social Science Research, New Delhi : 1970, pp. 85-90.

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¹²⁵Taub, *op. cit*

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sociologists have been generally influenced by the pattern set by the foreign sociologists studying India.

- (2) *Bureaucracy is such an area of intellectual inquiry which falls under the orbit of various disciplines like political science, public administration in the case of governmental (public) bureaucracy, and economics and business management in the case of the industrial (private) bureaucracy. This led to skepticism and resistance on the part of sociologists who were unsure to take up such areas of study which have been domain of other disciplines in terms of subject-matter, if not perspective.*

Formulation of Major Questions

Indian society is committed to the goals of democracy, equality, and nation-building. Traditions of particularism and bonds of kinship and caste ties have been parts of the Indian social system. Functioning of bureaucracy in such a social system assumes new sociological significance.

We have raised two types of questions in the present study : (1) General, (2) Specific. The general questions aim at finding out how, in a developing society like India with its colonial history, bureaucracy has grown and developed as a rational administrative system. In what ways do the indigenous tradition, culture, and the social structure of India influence the structure of bureaucracy and its functioning ? How far does bureaucracy in India conform to ideal-typical characteristics of Weber, or varies from it in adaptive pattern ? Can an administrative structure developed and nurtured in a colonial setting play an appropriate role in a free democratic nation committed to a socialistic pattern of society ? What has been the nature and process of adjustment of bureaucrats, after independence, with the politicians ? In this study an attempt has been made to seek answers to some of the questions posed above. Aspects connected with the above questions have been discussed in various chapters of the book at appropriate points. The specific

questions have been dealt separately and distinctly in each chapter with focus on their major and interrelated orientations. The study has been organized into nine chapters.

Chapter 1 deals with the concept of bureaucracy, a critical survey of the growth of bureaucracy in India, and plan of study. Chapter 2 briefly outlines the general frame of formal organization of bureaucracy. Chapter 3 deals with the social background of bureaucrats. We have tried to examine whether the social background of bureaucrats reveals egalitarianism and heterogeneity. Chapter 4 deals with the pattern of social interaction amongst bureaucrats. We have attempted to examine the nature of informal relationship in bureaucratic system. Chapter 5 deals with the perception of bureaucratic personality, bureaucratic role and job-satisfaction. Chapter 6 deals with dysfunctional aspects of bureaucracy specially in relation to corruption and inefficiency. Chapter 7 analyses the cultural life of the bureaucrats. The focus in the chapter is to find out whether the bureaucrats have a subculture. Chapter 8 deals with the value-orientation of bureaucrats. The major question posed in this chapter relates to the universalistic and particularistic mode of value-orientation of the bureaucrats. In the last chapter attempt has been made to formulate certain statements in the form of propositions as conclusions derived from the present study.

The present study emphasizes not the formal and organizational aspects of bureaucracy but its actual process of functioning in terms of the individual actors who function within the bureaucratic system, their interpersonal relationship and the type of substructure which actualizes thereby.

The Universe and Method of Study

The present study has been undertaken in some selected public and private bureaucratic organizations in Rajasthan. Bureaucrats related to public bureaucracy were from the Secretariat, Public Works Department, and Agriculture Department, and a District headquarter of the Government of

Rajasthan; in addition to these, the upper public bureaucrats were selected from some other government offices as well. Bureaucrats related to private bureaucracy were selected from two engineering industries of Jaipur and two industries of Kota—one Nylon Yarn and the other Rayon.

Initially, a selective observation was made of various government departments and private industrial offices in Jaipur, Kota, and Sirohi districts of Rajasthan with a view to collecting preliminary data and delineating relevant problem area. Intensive data were collected with the help of (a) questionnaire, (b) focussed interview, (c) case-analysis, (d) observation, and (e) use of documentary evidence. A detailed questionnaire was framed. After pre-testing, it was administered to various officials in four public and four private bureaucratic organizations. The number selected is approximately twenty per cent of the total strength of employees in these organizations. It was decided to select 300 bureaucrats from public and another 300 bureaucrats from private bureaucracies.

Since our study emphasizes variables of (1) Hierarchy: upper, middle, lower, (2) Job-specialization: non-technical and technical, (3) Type of bureaucracy: public (government) and private (private industrial), a quota to select officials in equal number for each variable was fixed. These officials were selected on the basis of random sampling from the list of each organization. The random number tables were used for such a selection.¹²⁷ Selection of an equal number of bureaucrats has been considered logically necessary for meaningful comparison between different variables.¹²⁸ Two hundred bureaucrats from amongst those who were given the questionnaires were selected for

¹²⁷The details of the number of employees in these organizations which form our universe are given in Appendix C. The placement in a particular hierarchy of the bureaucrats was determined by an organization's own evaluation about status of each bureaucrat.

¹²⁸In effect twelve sub-categories emerged (1) public upper non-technical, (2) public middle non-technical, (3) public lower non-technical, (4) public upper technical, (5) public middle technical, (6) public lower technical, (7) private upper non-technical, (8) private middle non-technical, (9) private lower non-technical, (10) private upper technical, (11) private middle technical, (12) private lower technical.

intensive interviews. The field work was undertaken between 1966 and 1969. The processing of data was done manually.

A brief explanation regarding variables may be relevant. The variable of hierarchy is significant since bureaucracy has a strict ranking system. The hierarchical division of bureaucracy is its necessary condition according to Weberian ideal-typical traits, and existentially operates in all bureaucracies. The variable of specialization is important in the context of technological development and growing importance of technical know-how in bringing about change. Specialists in bureaucracy are increasingly playing an important role. In India, technical bureaucrats have of late been growing in number owing to developmental activities and industrial growth. They are trained in specialized knowledge and their function ideally requires use of their knowledge. There could be four types of organizations according to Parsons:¹²⁹ (a) organizations oriented to economic production (business firms), (b) organizations oriented to political goals (generation and allocation of power in society), (c) integrative organizations, (d) pattern-maintenance organizations. We have taken private bureaucracy (private industry) as the third variable in our study. The tasks of public bureaucracy are more varied and diverse and it is oriented to public tasks unlike private industrial bureaucracy which is oriented to personal economic gains. We have tried to assess the significance of the relation of the data with these variables.

Fifty officials from each of these categories were given questionnaires, excepting the private upper non-technical category, where it could not be possible to obtain the required number due to smaller size of this category. The three variables used in our study have the following numbers by combinations within them.

(1) Hierarchy	Upper 175	Middle 220	Lower 200	Total 575
(2) Specialization	Non-technical 275		Technical 300	Total 575
(3) Type	Public 300		Private 275	Total 575
Total Number of Bureaucrats Studied = 575				

¹²⁹Parsons, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-46.

The study focusses on certain sociological issues relevant to bureaucracy in India. It is not our idea to make any generalizations about bureaucracy but to study specific aspects and to explain their nature. In the process of the analysis of data such findings which reveal internal consistency and a pattern shall be formulated in the form of statements in the concluding chapter.

Formal Organization of Bureaucracy

A detailed discussion of the formal structure of bureaucratic organization may not be necessary in a sociological study of the type which we are undertaking, but a brief and schematic overview of the formal aspects of public and private bureaucracies is being considered relevant in understanding the various issues which we have formulated. In this chapter we propose to discuss briefly some relevant areas of formal structure of bureaucracy in relation to recruitment, career-pattern, hierarchy, organization, and procedure of work. We begin with some problems of administration which had emerged

As a consequence of the integration of various princely states in Rajasthan.

Administrative Problems following Integration of States

Rajasthan, prior to its integration, as we have observed in our earlier discussion, was divided into various principalities. Consequent upon the emergence of the State of Rajasthan in the year 1949, the foremost question which came before the administration was to introduce a unified administrative system in the new State.¹ It was a complex administrative problem, since there was great variation in the pattern of administration between different States. While some princely States had a well-organized administrative machinery, others lacked even the rudimentary elements of government.² The revenue administration was in a very elementary stage. There was no independent judiciary. The judges were appointed and removed at the will of the ruler. Moreover, in many States there was no system of codified law.³

The task of administrative unification was attempted in various stages. An Integration Department was set up to formulate proposals for appointment of personnel on *ad-hoc* basis in the integrated set-up pending final selection. Formulation of rules for permanent absorption in various services and integrated set-up of departments were other problems to be tackled. The selection of personnel on substantive basis for all important services was accomplished between August 1950 and May 1951.⁴ A formula for absorption and placement in a particular cadre and service was evolved by the Integration Department. The size and importance of the erstwhile State where the official served, and the rank, salary and qualification

¹*Rajasthan Pay Commission Report*, Jaipur : Cabinet Secretariat, Government of Rajasthan, 1968.

²Dharm Pal, *Rajasthan*, New Delhi : National Book Trust, 1968, p. 161.

³*Ibid.*

⁴*Rajasthan Pay Commission Report*, *op cit.*, p. 7.

of the official were major considerations in fixation and placement. In the process of integration all government servants who had attained fifty-five years of age or had completed thirty years of qualifying service on 1st May 1949, were retired. Senior officers of various erstwhile States were taken into IAS cadre by a special selection committee.

All higher posts in the Government of Rajasthan are manned by IAS officers. The secretaries of various departments in the Secretariat belong to the IAS service.⁵ All the twenty-six districts in Rajasthan have IAS collectors. There are 145 IAS officers allotted to the State of Rajasthan.⁶ Some of them are working with the Central Government on deputation. There is a provision to fill 25 per cent of the total vacancies of IAS in the State of Rajasthan by promotion.

It shall be appropriate here to discuss the procedure of recruitment to the top civil service in the country.

Recruitment :

All India Service

In public bureaucracy, recruitment is based on fixed procedures and rules. Recruitment to the Indian Civil Service was stopped after 1943. In October 1946 it was decided to constitute the Indian Administrative Service. Recruitment to Indian Administrative and allied services is based on competitive examinations conducted by Union Public Service Commission. The Indian Administrative Service provides top administrative personnel to both the Central, as well as the State Government.⁷ Not more than 50 per cent of vacancies in any State are filled by officers belonging to that State.⁸

⁵Secretary to Government, Law and Judicial Department is, however, posted generally from the Rajasthan Higher Judicial Service.

⁶The figures have been taken from the Department of Appointments, Government of Rajasthan. (As on 1st July 1970 the number of IAS officers in Rajasthan was 145.)

⁷*Administrative Reforms Commission Report of the Study Team on Personnel Administration*, New Delhi: Government of India, 1969, p. 54.

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 65.

Examinations for Indian Administrative and other services are held simultaneously by the Union Public Service Commission. A combined competitive examination for recruitment for the various categories of services is held every year.⁹ A candidate who is competing for IAS and IPS services, must be a citizen of India, while for other services, a candidate must be a citizen of India, or a subject of Sikkim, or a subject of Nepal, or Bhutan, or a Tibetan refugee who came over to India before 1st Jan., 1962 or a person of Indian origin who has migrated from Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon, and the East African countries of Kenya, Uganda and the Republic of Tanzania with the intention of permanently settling in India.¹⁰

As was true for the ICS, admission to the service is based on the results of a highly competitive examination.¹¹ The competitive examination consists of a written test and a *viva-voce*. Only such candidates who clear the written test are called for interview. Until 1956, failure in the interview was adequate cause for refusal of admission into the Service, regardless of the candidate's performance on the written examination. However, at present, each part of the examination is given a numerical value. One who performs well in the written examination may compensate for poor performance in the interview.¹² The subjects for written test include three compulsory papers, and two optional papers for IPS, and three for other services. The candidates opting for IAS are required to offer five papers—

⁹These categories are as under : *Category I* (1) The Indian Administrative Service, (2) The Indian Foreign Service. *Category II* (1) The Indian Police Service, (2) The Delhi, and Andaman and Nicobar Islands Police Service, Class II and (3) The Tripura Police Service, Class II. *Category III* Class I services (1) The Indian Audit and Accounts Service, (2) The Indian Custom and Central Excise Service, (3) The Indian Defence Accounts Service, (4) The Indian Income Tax Service (Class I), (5) The Indian Ordnance Factories Service (Class I), (6) The Indian Postal Service, (7) The Indian Railway Traffic Service, (8) The Indian Railway Accounts Service, (9) The Military Lands and Cantonments Service (Class I). There are nine class II services.

¹⁰*Cabinet Secretariat (Department of Personnel) Rules*, No. 20/1/71/A/S, New Delhi : 6 March 1971.

¹¹Richard P. Taub, *Bureaucrats Under Stress*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969, p. 29.

¹²*Ibid*, p. 30.

three from optional group and two from advanced group. The variation in emphasis on the number of papers is related to relative importance of the various services. The minimum educational qualification for a candidate appearing for IAS and other services, is a degree from a recognized university.

The age-span for recruitment to these services is 21 and 24 years.* For IPS the minimum age limit is 20 years. The age limit is relaxable in various special cases to the extent of eight years. In the case of members of a scheduled caste or a scheduled tribe appearing for the examination, the relaxable limit is five years.

A certain amount of disability for women candidates can be discerned by provision of rules. It is open to the Government of India not to appoint to the IAS/IPS service a woman candidate who is married or to require such a candidate who is not married to resign from the service in the event of her marriage subsequently, if the maintenance of the efficiency of the service so requires. In the case of Indian Foreign Service a woman candidate is eligible if she is unmarried or a widow without encumbrances. If such a candidate is selected she can be appointed on the express condition that she might be asked to resign from the service on marriage or remarriage.¹³

Although passing the examination is the primary route to enter the IAS, it has been possible to enter the IAS by special or emergency recruitment in the past. The second alternative route to membership in the IAS is by promotion.¹⁴

Though ICS and IAS have attracted bright educated young men of the country for the last few years the number of first divisioners in them has declined. In the period 1950-55, out of every 3.25 first class graduates produced by the universities, one competed for IAS. In 1960-64, the proportion went so low that out of every 13 first class graduates only one appeared for IAS and allied examinations. In 1964 the proportion was one to twenty.

*The upper age limit has now been raised to 26.

¹³Cabinet Secretariat Rules, *op. cit.*

¹⁴Taub, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-32.

There has been a sharp decline in the number of first divisioners actually selected also. The number of first divisioners getting into the Service has declined to 25.19 per cent in 1960-65 from 42.9 per cent in 1950-55. Out of 658 names recommended for IAS 35.0 per cent were second class and 12.0 per cent third class.¹⁵ The Report of Administrative Reforms Commission has suggested that there has been diminution in attraction for these services, which has been attributed to comparatively lower remuneration, better opportunities of employment in private sector and in the universities and the loss of lustre and prestige of Government employment.¹⁶

After the final selection, the candidates are imparted training at Mussoorie. There is a difference in training programmes of IAS and other services. Increasing emphasis is being laid on imparting training which equips an officer for undertaking programmes connected with economic and social functions of the State related to development. The ARC has recommended that officials should be given training in public relations.¹⁷ The training includes a cultural tour of the country and in addition to curriculum, lectures from eminent people. The training period of an entrant to an IAS comprises about twenty-eight months, before he is given an independent charge.

There is no central cadre of the IAS. When each new recruit is confirmed in the service, he is allocated permanently by the Central Government to a particular state cadre. The centre does not have any quota of its own. IAS officers come on deputation to centre.¹⁸ Approximately 70 per cent of the members of the IAS at any time are working for a State Government and not the Central Government.¹⁹ They are, however, governed by the rules framed by the Central Govern-

¹⁵ *Administrative Reforms Commission Report on Recruitment, Selection, etc.*, Government of India, Delhi: June 1967, pp. 4-6.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

¹⁸ David C. Potter, 'Bureaucratic Change in India', in Ralph Braibanti (ed.), *Asian Bureaucratic Systems Emergent from the British Imperial Tradition*, Durham: Duke University Press, 1966, p. 145.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

ment. Top generalist posts of the government are reserved for members of this service.

State Services

According to the Rajasthan Civil Services Rules, 1950 the various services in Rajasthan have been classified into four categories : (1) State Services, (2) Subordinate Services, (3) Ministerial Services, (4) Class IV Services. Entrance to the service is either through direct recruitment or promotion. The pattern of recruitment of Rajasthan Administrative and other services viz., Rajasthan Police Service, Rajasthan Accounts Service, is similar to that of IAS. Recruitment is based on a competitive examination conducted by the Rajasthan Public Service Commission. The candidate for direct recruitment must have attained the age of 21 years and must not have attained the age of 25 years.²⁰ The upper age limit can be relaxed by five years for candidates belonging to a Scheduled Caste or a Scheduled Tribe.²¹

The candidate must possess a degree in Arts, Science, Commerce or Agriculture.²² For the competitive examination, a candidate is required to take four compulsory subjects (Hindi, English, General Knowledge and everyday science and *via-voce*). He is required to select five optional papers out of a list of thirty-three papers specified in the application form. There is a training programme for a year at the Harish Chandra Mathur Institute, Jaipur. Thereafter they are sent for field training.

Entry into Subordinate and Ministerial Service is based on a written examination and interview. The minimum age for entry in the Rajasthan Government service is sixteen and the maximum twenty-eight years. The government, however, reserves the right to relax the age limit where it considers necessary.

²⁰The upper age limit has now been raised to 28

²¹*The Rajasthan Administrative Service Rules*, Government of Rajasthan, Jaipur : Government of Rajasthan, 1961, p. 8.

²²*Ibid.*, p. 12.

Promotion

In almost all services there is a provision for appointment by way of promotion. This is done partly on the basis of merit and partly on merit-cum-seniority criterion.²³ The Departmental Promotion Committee headed by a Member or the Chairman of Rajasthan Public Service Commission, makes recommendation on the basis of the record of the service of employee. In the case of promotion to IAS, a Member or the Chairman of Union Public Service Commission heads the committee. The promotion quota varies from one service to another.

Salary and Pay Scales

There are thirty-five pay scales in the Government of Rajasthan. The minimum basic salary for a lower official is Rs. 110 for the L.D.C. and grade III teacher. The super-time scale posts of IAS have pay between Rs. 2,150 and Rs. 3,500.²⁴ The ratio, thus, between the highest paid and the lowest paid official is 1 : 19. This is based on basic pay excluding dearness allowance and other compensatory allowances. Prior to the integration of States, a few States had a system of rational pay scale. In most of the cases the pay scale was very poor. For example in the erstwhile Jaipur State the minimum pay for class IV servant was Rs. 15, for compounder Rs. 20, and for teacher and clerk Rs. 30 per month. Unified pay scale was introduced on 1st April 1950.²⁵

There are disparities between pay rates under Central Government and different States of the Indian Union. However, on the whole pay scales of Rajasthan Government employees do not compare unfavourably with those in other States.²⁶ The Rajasthan Pay Commission had recommended

²³Rajasthan Pay Commission Report, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

²⁴Data collected from the Department of Finance, Government of Rajasthan, Jaipur.

²⁵Rajasthan Pay Commission Report, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

²⁶*Ibid.*, p. 35.

28 scales in 1968, the lowest being 60-1-65-2-85, and the highest being 2000-125/2-2250.²⁷ Earlier to the recommendation of Pay Commission there were thirty-seven pay scales. Out of the total 2,06,915 government employees in Rajasthan, 41,790 persons were in the pay scale of Rs. 45-80, 32,794 persons in the pay scale of Rs. 50-90, 31,164 persons in the pay scale of Rs. 75-200 and only 532 persons in scales starting above Rs. 900. It is interesting to note that out of about two lakh employees in the Government of Rajasthan, about 43,000 are peons and Jamadars.²⁸ Such a large number of class IV employees reveal the feudal legacy and impact of imperial civil service.

Retirement

A government servant retires at the age of 55 years (excepting in the case of IAS officers, for whom it is 58). He is free to seek retirement from service on completion of 25 years of service and the government may also retire its employee after completion of 25 years even though it may be before attaining the age of superannuation. A government job means a life-long career with benefits of pension and family pension. There are specified provisions for suspension and dismissal of government servants. The government servant can seek the redress of his grievance in the court of law.

Organization, Hierarchy and Procedure of Work

There are practically as many independent administrators as there are States.²⁹ In public bureaucracy in India

²⁷Ibid., p. 181.

²⁸Rajasthan Pay Commission Report, op. cit., p. 264 and p. 266. The number of government employees in Rajasthan according to Budget Estimates 1971-72, Vol. II, Govt. of Rajasthan, 1971 is 2,25,000.

²⁹Report of Administrative Reforms Commission on Personnel Administration, Government of India, Delhi: August 1967, p. 36.

there are headquarters organizations as well as field units. Besides there are several statutorily autonomous bodies. The main headquarter organization in the Government is the Secretariat both in the Centre as well as the States. The Secretariat is located in the capital city of a State. It is an entity nearest to the political executive.³⁰ The district is the main field unit, where the collector plays an important administrative role.³¹ There are 1,798 government employees working in the Secretariat at Jaipur. There are twenty officers of the rank of Commissioner and Secretary, thirty-eight Deputy Secretaries and thirty-two Assistant Secretaries working in the Secretariat.*

The working of the public bureaucracy can be divided into two major functional tasks—departments which are technical and those which are non-technical. Technical departments are entrusted with functions which require knowledge and experience of a defined field. Persons recruited to such departments have generally technical qualifications acquired in the professional institutes of learning.³² Functioning in the Secretariat and Collectorate relate to general administration.

The Chief Minister is the administrative head of the State who nominates a council of his ministers. Each minister is incharge of one or more than one departments depending on allocation of such departments. A Minister of State may have an independent department. A Deputy Minister may work with one or more than one ministers. Allotment of work to them is done by the Minister concerned in consultation with the Chief Minister.

Secretaries (in some cases they are designated as Commissioner and ex-officio Secretary) head one or more than one departments, and can be under more than one ministers. Secretaries in Rajasthan are drawn from the Indian Adminis-

³⁰*Ibid.*, p. 37.

³¹*Ibid.*, p. 37.

*As on 31st March '74 Source - Budget Estimates, 1974-75, Vol III, Govt. of Rajasthan.

³²*Administrative Reforms Commission Report on Personnel Administration*, op. cit., p. 38.

trative Service. Deputy Secretaries, who are below the rank of Secretary, are drawn from the IAS or State service or State Secretariat Services. However, an RAS officer becomes Deputy Secretary at the fag end of his career while an IAS officer at the early stage of his career. The Chief Secretary—who is also the cabinet secretary—is responsible for coordination of work. All matters to cabinet are routed through him. The Secretary of a department is its chief functionary. Deputy Secretaries and Assistant Secretaries help the Secretary in the discharge of his work.³³

The file seems to be the unit of work in all government offices. The procedure of work starts with the receipt of a communication in an office. The communication is registered by a lower official and passed on to the dealing assistant (or U.D.C.) who links it with the file concerning the subject of the communication. He provides relevant information by docketing, paging and referencing and puts it up to the next officer who is called office superintendent in offices of the Heads of Departments, and Section Officer in the Secretariat. The Head Clerk or the office superintendent is a non-gazetted government servant who is responsible for the disposal of business and exercises control over clerical staff. All notes are required to be written on both sides strung together and the pages numbered serially in pencil. Clerks and non-gazetted officers are required to sign on the left-hand side and gazetted officers on the right-hand side of the sheet. All notes are required to be written in order of sequence which is divided into convenient paragraphs.³⁴ Coloured labels are attached to file to specify the nature of urgency of the disposal of the case. Blue slips signify 'immediate'; green, Assembly Question; red, urgent; yellow, confidential.³⁵

Heads of Departments usually issue directions and guidelines to the subordinate officials. The Government delegates powers to the Heads of Departments in respect of administrative and financial matters. Accounts are annually audited.

³³*Secretariat Manual*, Government of Rajasthan, Jaipur, 1959, p. 3.

³⁴*Ibid*, pp. 46-47.

³⁵*Ibid*, p. 44.

The Public Accounts Committee consisting of the members of Legislative Assembly critically reviews the management of finances and places it before the Assembly for discussion.

In the Secretariat decision-making usually starts at the level of Deputy Secretary. He draws up proposal for policy decisions of the Secretary. The Secretary is the arch adviser to the Minister for policy making and vital decisions. Some sections in the Secretariat have 'cell system' of functioning. Under this system an officer takes decision directly without involving various channels of noting etc., by subordinate officials. The members of the Administrative Reforms Committee of Rajasthan were divided in their opinion regarding giving the Heads of Departments ex-officio Secretarial status.³⁴

The technical departments are separate administrative units located outside the Secretariat. A few heads of the technical departments are also designated as additional secretaries to the Government. The Director of a department has a Joint Director who normally is an area officer, looking after an area functionally designed for administrative coordination. Each district has several district officers who are heads of their units at the district level. The Collector is responsible for the coordinated functioning of all district officers in a district. Some of the district officers are (1) Executive Engineer, (2) District Medical Officer, (3) District Agriculture Officer, (4) District Forest Officer. The technical heads are, however, lower in hierarchy to the Secretaries. The Collector is still the chief magistrate, and has to coordinate number of activities in the district. He is still head of the district and enjoys high prestige and power.

The Organization and Methods Department in the Secretariat has evolved various techniques for methodological operation of government machinery. Systems of filing, numbering, weeding of files etc., have been laid down by the O and M Department. However, in many cases procedures are not

³⁴ Report of the Administrative Reforms Committee, Govt. of Rajasthan, Jaipur, 1962, p. 61.

followed. For example, officials are required to sign in an attendance register. Those who come late by more than one hour for more than three days are required to be considered as on one day casual leave.³⁷ There are directions to keep files neat and tidy. Members of the ministerial staff are prohibited by rule to smoke in office hours except in the refreshment room. These rules are, however, not adhered to. Traditions of discipline maintenance neither reward clearly outstanding performance nor punish slovenly work.³⁸

Private Bureaucracy

U. U. CENT.

Private bureaucracy has great variation regarding organization and mode of functioning. Organizational chart of a private bureaucracy is presented here to depict a general pattern of hierarchy. There is no well-defined formal pattern of recruitment in the industries of Rajasthan. Two large scale industries located in Kota do have a well-defined and properly formulated scheme of recruitment and training. For technical people vacancies are advertised. But in the case of semi-skilled operators available locally, recruitment decisions are taken at the level of the sectional head within the framework of overall sanctioned strength. Non-technical personnel at the lower level are recruited by one of higher officials in consultation with the chief of the organization. Generally such recruitments are based on informal and particularistic criteria.

For the recruitment of higher posts, directors make appointments. The chief executive in private bureaucracy is generally a man of confidence of the Directors. Recruitment at senior levels are usually done by picking up persons by the Directors. Positions at the middle management level are normally filled by promotions. Positions at the lower level upto foreman and junior engineer are filled up either by open advertisement or by recruiting fresh engineering graduates and diploma

³⁷ *Secretariat Manual*, op. cit., p. 13.

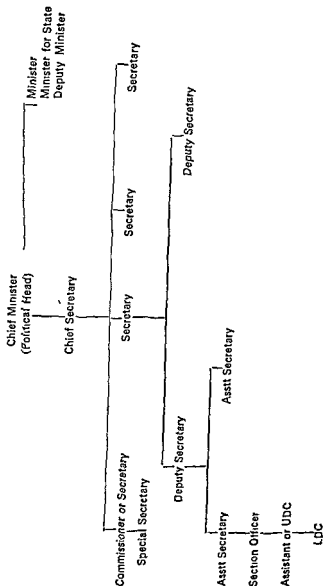
³⁸ *Taub*, op. cit., p. 58.

holders. Such recruitment is often based on recommendations. Though each high officer has certain departments to look after and certain functions to perform, the distribution of work and placement is done by the Directors. Generally salary is given not according to designation but according to how the management perceives a person's usefulness for the organization. For example, one works manager gets Rs. 5,000/- and other Rs. 3,800/- in the concern 'N'. A person getting high salary may be placed under a person who is getting lower salary. An officer who gets high salary and belongs to a higher non-technical cadre may not have any powers. It is interesting to note that though the non-technical people are placed in hierarchy higher than technical, they get lesser salary.

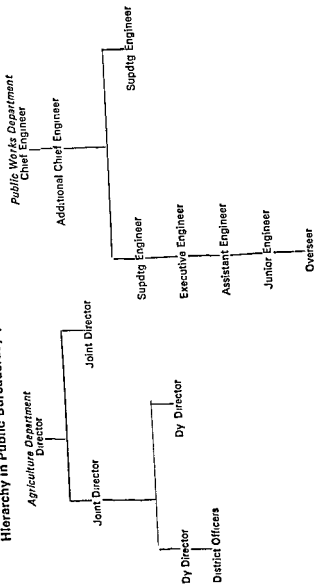
The President heads the organization, who, in turn, is responsible to the Board of Directors. He is assisted by two vice-presidents. One vice-president looks after sales and accounts and other looks after the factory, production and supply. Each technical department is headed by a Divisional Manager, who may be a technical or non-technical person. Under each divisional manager there is a works manager, who is responsible for production and its technical efficiency. The works manager and his associates in the department, apart from looking after production, suggest and work out means of improvement of quality, reduction of scrap and other steps for *smooth functioning of the industry*.

There are not many channels of routing the matter. Specific issues are taken up and quickly disposed of. This becomes necessary as, a decision affects the production and functioning of factory. It is easy to fix responsibility. Responsibilities of various departments are well understood although there are generally no written rules and organization manual. The procedures are simple. Departmental heads are free to take decisions to a great extent although they do not have monetary powers. Since the persons in senior positions can be easily removed, they are conscious of their responsibilities. This leads to quicker decisions. Unlike the government there is no system of taking signature and diarying while delivering the papers from one section to another. In

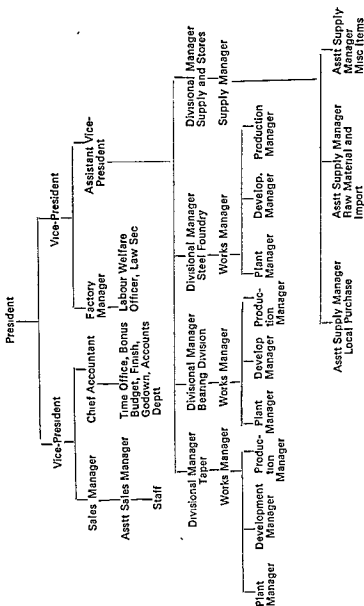
Hierarchy in Public Bureaucracy (Non-Technical) : Secretariat



Hierarchy in Public Bureaucracy (Technical) : Two Technical Departments



Organization Chart of a Private Bureaucracy



matters which need decisions from the head-office, Telex facilitates quick decision. The head-offices of these industrial concerns are located in different big cities of India.

Unlike public bureaucracy, promotions are not based on seniority but on the appraisal by the management. It also depends on the availability of persons in employment market, particularly in the case of technical people. Promotions are usually given by way of extra-increments which depends on the recommendation of the departmental head. It is usual to get multiple increments for some categories of officials. Unlike public bureaucracy a person might get a higher grade while remaining at the same post. The highest salary in concern 'N' is reported to be Rs. 5,000. Rupees 250/- is the salary given to the lowest official.

Power and influence in private bureaucratic organizations enjoyed by senior executives fluctuate with time, and depend much upon the confidence of the directors. Higher officials are not dismissed but conditions are so created that they are made to go. The nature of facilities differ from one organization to another, although under Factory Act certain facilities are necessarily given. Provident Fund scheme and medical facilities are provided. Some factories provide facilities for recreation like clubs, arranging pictures etc. Large factories run round the clock in three shifts. Leave and other rules exist. The office timings are 8 a.m. to 5 p.m. with a break from 12.00 to 1 p.m. The factory time clock records the time of labour. The above description relates to the general pattern of functioning of private bureaucratic organizations in Rajasthan. There are variations on specific aspects but a broad and general pattern does exist.

Social Background of Bureaucrats

Studies in Sociology dealing with formal and bureaucratic organizations have often neglected the analysis of the social background of bureaucrats. This aspect of sociological analysis may not have much significance in the studies undertaken in the western cultural context where relatively greater equality of opportunity, social and occupational mobility, and resources exist. However, in a developing society like India where forces of caste and kinship influence the social life and acute disparity in standard of living and subculture among various groups and regions are existing, a study of the social background of bureaucrats would reveal sociologically significant dimensions.

There are a number of propositions and questions which are related to this phenomenon and need further examination. It may be asked : how far does the recruitment to bureaucracy in India has the quality of universalism whereby people from diverse social, familial, educational and class background are recruited to its cadre ? Has the process and method of recruitment led to representation of various social strata and different social categories in the bureaucracy ? Answers to these questions will reveal the extent of social mobility through bureaucracy.

Further, it is often said that recruitment to administrative services has been in favour of the upper stratum. If it continues to be so its perpetuation might reflect not only the continuity of dominance of the traditional influential groups but also a lack of distributive justice in the system. A related question refers to the phenomenon of aristocratization of higher bureaucracy in India. Has the tendency, in the higher civil service, towards aristocratization—which has been a colonial and British legacy—been changing through the process of greater equality of opportunity and recruitment from the middle and lower middle strata of society ? Or, do people after having entered the higher services try to be aloof from the group of their origin ? In other words, do they continue identification with the group and strata of their origin or de-identify themselves seeking membership in the upper strata and try to imbibe their values ? In the latter case the process of aristocratization may come into conflict with the process of democratization which is a wider national goal and may lead to dissonance in the bureaucratic role and conflict between bureaucracy and society. Aristocratization would mean that services continue to perpetuate their isolated subculture with overtones of feudal-colonial values in bureaucracy. This would lead to communication-gap between administrators and citizens, which is very detrimental to a society committed to democracy and socialism.

It may be further asked how far the background of bureaucrats reveals regional, linguistic, social and cultural heterogeneity. The answer to this question is significantly related to

the contribution of bureaucracy to the preservation of the unity of the nation. Some authors have emphasized the role of higher civil service in the preservation of the unity of the nation.¹ With the above general questions in view we have studied the age-group, sex and marital status, place of birth, provincial background, type of family, religion, father's occupation and education, nature of schooling, educational qualification, the pattern of residence, total years of service and knowledge of different languages, of the bureaucrats.

These aspects of study take into consideration specific personal and social data. Analysis of the data might provide certain dimensions which are crucial and significant in relation to the functioning of bureaucracy. For example, provincial background may reveal the nature and extent of regionalism in bureaucracy. Living in a particular type of family may signify the commitment to the value of living in joint family and consequently a sense of familial obligation. The religious background can reveal the extent of recruitment of the minority in bureaucracy in relationship to the process of secularization. Occupational and educational background of the fathers of the bureaucrats may reveal the extent of generational mobility. Educational qualifications of the bureaucrats may signify the importance of higher education as a necessary condition for recruitment in bureaucracy. Answers to these questions shall be integrated for analysis of the more general questions posed earlier in this chapter.

Incidentally, the studies of social background of bureaucrats in India have been confined to the higher civil service. Trivedi and Rao were the first to make such systematic study of the social background of the IAS trainees.² These studies thus have been repeatedly quoted by all such scholars who have undertaken studies of bureaucrats in terms of social background.

¹Cf. David C. Potter, 'Bureaucratic Change in India', in Ralph Braibanti (ed.), *Asian Bureaucratic System Emergent from the British Imperial Tradition*, Durham N.C. : Duke University Press, 1966, p. 208.

²R. K. Trivedi and D. N. Rao, 'Regular Recruits to the IAS—A Study', *Journal of the National Academy of Administration*, Mussoorie, V-3, 1960.

Studies by Braibanti,³ Taub,⁴ Bhambhri⁵ and Gould⁶ in connection with the social background of bureaucrats have been cited with a view to comparing the results in the present study. We begin with the interpretation of each item of the background mentioned earlier.

Personal and Social Factors

Age

The age of the bureaucrat is a significant factor as it tends to determine the nature of role performance and value orientation. Higher age has traditionally been respected in India. Aged people have been considered as repositories of wisdom.

A job in administration as a career pattern has rules regarding age of entrance and retirement. The age of entry in public bureaucracy in India is eighteen, while the age of retirement is fifty-five. The minimum age for competitive examination of provincial and all-India services is twenty-one and maximum twenty-four years.⁷ In higher civil service, during the early British days, recruitment at a very early age was common. Hastings was organizing a sub-factory at twenty and at twenty-seven he was Resident at Mir Jafir's Court.⁸ The members of the Indian Civil Service were posted at quite an early age to very responsible and high positions.

³Ralph Braibanti, 'Reflections on Bureaucratic Reform in India', in Ralph Braibanti and Joseph J. Spengler (eds.), *Administration and Economic Development in India*, Durham N.C.: Duke University Press, 1963.

⁴Richard P. Taub, *Bureaucrats Under Stress*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969.

⁵C P. Bhambhri, 'Higher Civil Service in India', *Journal of Administration Overseas*, Vol. VIII, Oct. 1969. Also see 'The Indian Administrative Service', *Journal of Administration Overseas*, Vol. IX, Oct., 1970.

⁶Michael A. Gould, *Politics, Administration and Economic Development in an Indian State*, Dept. of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley (unpublished Ph D. Thesis).

⁷In the case of IPS examinations the minimum age is twenty. For the candidates belonging to schedule castes and tribes the upper age limit is relaxable upto a maximum of five years.

⁸Philip Woodruff, *The Men Who Ruled India*, Vol. I, London: Jonathan Cape, 1963, p. 115.

Even today in Rajasthan, young members of IAS become Collectors at the age of twenty-seven or so. The reactions of the public and older members of bureaucracy toward young people occupying high positions have been mixed: some envy them, others despise them and consider them immature and arrogant. Some others consider them to be honest, energetic, and straightforward. Occupation of high bureaucratic positions by young bureaucrats still evokes surprise and suspicion though, in some areas, young people are gradually being encouraged to take up high positions and greater responsibility is being given to them.

In the present study 38.3 per cent of the bureaucrats are in the age group of 20 to 29; 38.4 in the age group of 30 to 39; 16.2 in the age group of 40 to 49 and 5.2 per cent are 50 years or above. Thus 76.7 per cent of the bureaucrats are under 40 years of age.

Table 3: 1—Age of Bureaucrats and Hierarchy

<i>Hierarchy</i>	<i>Age</i>				<i>NR</i>	<i>Total</i>
	20 to 29	30 to 39	40 to 49	50 and above		
Upper	20 (11.4)	89 (50.8)	50 (28.6)	14 (8.0)	2 (1.1)	175 (100.0)
Middle	81 (40.5)	81 (40.5)	27 (13.5)	7 (3.5)	4 (2.0)	200 (100.0)
Lower	119 (59.5)	51 (25.5)	16 (8.0)	9 (4.5)	5 (2.5)	200 (100.0)
Total	220 (38.3)	221 (38.4)	93 (16.2)	30 (5.2)	11 (1.9)	575 (100.0)

The younger age group predominates in the lower cadre of administration, middle and younger categories are equally dominant in the middle hierarchy of bureaucracy, and the middle age category (30-39) is most frequent in the upper bureaucratic strata.

Experience accumulated through the process of ageing seems to be an important factor of promotion which is revealed by emphasis on seniority as an important criterion of promotion in public bureaucracy. Not only do the societal norms of traditional society emphasize age and experience, even bureaucracy which is based on norms of rationality emphasizes age as an important criterion of promotion. At

the higher level, young people are IAS officers who have come through direct recruitment, and technical personnel have had rapid promotion due to rapid administrative, developmental and industrial expansion.

Table 3: 2—Age of Bureaucrats and Specialization

<i>Specialization</i>	<i>Age</i>				<i>NR</i>	<i>Total</i>
	20 to 29	30 to 39	40 to 49	50 and above		
Non-technical	80 (29.1)	102 (37.1)	66 (24.0)	22 (8.0)	5 (1.8)	275 (100.0)
Technical	140 (46.7)	119 (39.7)	27 (9.0)	8 (2.7)	6 (2.0)	300 (100.0)

A greater number of technical bureaucrats are in the younger age-group. In India during the pre-independence era facilities and need for technical education were limited. Since independence they have multiplied with the result that a greater number of younger people have been recruited in technical jobs.

Table 3: 3—Age of Bureaucrats and Type

<i>Type</i>	<i>Age</i>				<i>NR</i>	<i>Total</i>
	20 to 29	30 to 39	40 to 49	50 and above		
Public	76 (25.3)	129 (43.0)	68 (22.7)	22 (7.3)	5 (1.7)	300 (100.0)
Private	144 (52.4)	92 (33.4)	25 (9.1)	8 (2.9)	6 (2.2)	275 (100.0)

In private bureaucracy a greater number of people belong to the young-age category. Industrial expansion in Rajasthan is of recent origin. There is possibility of greater mobility for bureaucrats in private bureaucracy, while in public bureaucracy mobility from public to non-governmental job is negligible. Government jobs provide greater security and benefits of retirements etc. Industries recruit people for certain jobs which require qualities of energy, initiative, and smartness which generally go with young age.

Total Years of Service

Bureaucracy constitutes a life-long career. A major part of one's life is spent in working in a bureaucracy which is a source of livelihood and constitutes a career. In public bureaucracy one works for thirty to thirty-five years, and some people at higher level of bureaucracy get jobs in some statutory bodies like corporations even after retirement. In our study 35.7 per cent of the bureaucrats have put in service upto five years, 27.8 per cent between 6 to 10 years and 38.8 per cent eleven years and more.⁹

Table 3 : 4—Total Years of Service and Hierarchy

<i>Hierarchy</i>	Upto 5 years	6 to 10 years	11 and more	<i>NR</i>	<i>Total</i>
Upper	23 (13.1)	52 (29.7)	99 (56.6)	1 (0.6)	175 (100.0)
Middle	72 (36.0)	68 (34.0)	55 (27.5)	5 (2.5)	200 (100.0)
Lower	110 (55.0)	40 (20.0)	46 (23.0)	4 (2.0)	200 (100.0)
Total	205 (35.7)	160 (27.8)	200 (34.8)	10 (1.7)	575 (100.0)

The number of bureaucrats who have put in eleven or more years of service is the largest amongst the upper category. The number of such officials who have put in service upto five years is the largest in the lower category of bureaucracy. In the middle category, the number of such officials who have put in service upto five years and between six to ten years is the largest. This reinforces the argument that experience and seniority determine placement and promotion in the upper strata. Generally speaking, younger people, thus, do not play an important role in major policy formulation and decisions of vital importance. In terms of age-group also, it has been earlier observed that young people are in greater number in the lower rank in bureaucracy.

⁹The categories 16 to 20, 21 to 25, 26 to 30 and 31 and more were merged with the third category—'service of 11 years and more'—due to limited number of responses in respect of these categories.

Table 3:5—Total Years of Service and Specialization

<i>Specialization</i>	<i>Upto 5 years</i>	<i>6 to 10 years</i>	<i>11 and more</i>	<i>NR</i>	<i>Total</i>
Non-technical	79 (28.7)	67 (24.4)	123 (44.7)	6 (2.2)	275 (100.0)
Technical	126 (42.0)	93 (31.0)	77 (25.7)	4 (1.3)	300 (100.0)

The non-technical bureaucrats are greatest in number in the third category with service record of eleven years and more. The number of technical bureaucrats is the largest in the first category, of service upto 5 years and less. Jobs for technical bureaucrats in industries and other areas have multiplied as a result of expansion after independence. Technical people also belong to the youngest age-group.

Table 3:6—Total Years of Service and Type

<i>Type</i>	<i>Upto 5 years</i>	<i>6 to 10 years</i>	<i>11 and more</i>	<i>NR</i>	<i>Total</i>
Public	75 (25.0)	74 (24.7)	148 (49.3)	3 (1.0)	300 (100.0)
Private	130 (47.3)	86 (31.3)	52 (18.9)	7 (2.5)	275 (100.0)

Industrial bureaucracy has the largest number of people in the first category where people have put in service of 5 years and less. Rapid development of industries has necessitated recruitment of young people.

Sex and Marital Status

The question of marital status with reference to bureaucracy has a number of implications. Considerations of family background are being replaced by the consideration of the career of the young man. This is because the type of job determines emoluments, standard of living, nature of authority, and consequently social status. High educational qualification and good jobs instead of mitigating the evil of dowry have worsened it to a scandalous proportion.¹⁰ Changes in structure due to

¹⁰K.M. Kapadia, *Marriage and Family in India*, Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1966, p. 137.

the impact of modernity get subdued under the pressure of the impact of values of traditionalism.

Young men in foreign service, all-India services, in engineering jobs, and trainees with big foreign firms are in greater demand in the matrimonial market.¹¹ IAS trainees and officials are rated as one of the important and valued categories of potential mates from whom selection for prospective brides can be made. One of the IAS trainees (probationers) remarked :

As soon as the list of the IAS is out the parents of prospective brides make a serious search for them.

In Indian society, like other societies where the position of women is comparatively low, a woman's status is determined largely by that of her husband's. Besides, selecting a mate for the daughter is not merely a parental duty but has been a major social responsibility of the parents.

There are not many women at upper level in public bureaucracy in Rajasthan. There are five women in IAS and one in RAS. At lower level, the number of women employees in public bureaucracy is increasing. However, there was hardly any woman in any of the industrial organizations studied. In education and medical professions the number of women is much higher compared to the administrative side. For the past few years a larger number of girls are being selected in the higher civil services in India. From 1948 to 1962, the total number of women in IAS was twenty-one.¹² However, in the year 1969 out of ninety-eight selected candidates seventeen were women. A woman candidate (Miss Shyamala Balasubramanian) was placed first in the order of merit of the IAS and IFS candidates.¹³ In the year 1970 out of 100 selected candidates 13 were women. A woman candidate (Miss Anuradha Mazumdar) tops the list in both IAS and IFS candidates.¹⁴ In the year 1971, fifteen women out of

¹¹Taya Zinkin, *Challenges in India*, London: Chatto and Windus, 1968, p. 202.

¹²Trivedi and Rao, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

¹³*Hindustan Times*, 19th April 1969.

¹⁴*Statesman*, 28th April 1970.

ninety-seven qualified in the IAS and IFS examinations. Here again a woman tops the list of IFS candidates (Kumari Veena Datta).¹⁵

That women are being treated slightly differently is evident from the rules notified to the candidates appearing for the IAS and allied examinations. 'A female candidate for IAS/IPS service who is married or marries subsequently may not be appointed or made to resign, if the maintenance of the efficiency so requires'.¹⁶ However, this rule is not applicable to men. For the Indian Foreign Service a woman candidate is eligible only if she is unmarried or a widow without encumbrances. She might be called upon to resign in case of her marriage or remarriage.¹⁷ This appears to be a sort of female apartheid of a sophisticated nature. The attitude is well reflected in an interview which Kamla Mankekar, the well known journalist, had with the Chairman of Union Public Service Commission in the early fifties: 'Is it true that you do not want women in the Foreign Service'? The Chairman replied, 'You are right, young lady. We do not want women in the IFS, though they do get in sometime'.¹⁸ Another U.P.S.C. member remarked that 'they get in in spite of our efforts to keep them out'.¹⁹ The lesser number of women in higher and other jobs compared to men is the result of many factors. The rate of low literacy among women, parental attitude towards their education and employment, the reaction of society in general and women's own career orientation are responsible for such a situation.²⁰

Women bureaucrats, married or unmarried, work under certain handicaps in a society where, traditionally, women have been considered inferior to men. Women officers have to

¹⁵*Hindustan Times*, 25th April 1971.

¹⁶Instructions to Candidates, Ministry of Home Affairs Rules, New Delhi, the 18th March, 1969, No 20/1/69/IAS/(1), pp. 9-23.

¹⁷*Ibid*, pp. 9-24.

¹⁸Kamla Mankekar, *Hindustan Times Weekly Review*, Sunday, July 13, 1969, p. 13.

¹⁹*Ibid*.

²⁰Bishwanath Prasad, *The Indian Administrative Service*, New Delhi: S. Chand and Co., 1968, p. 157.

face a variety of problems. Many a man does not like to work under a woman. The remarks of a woman officer summarise the issue :

I am looked upon as a strange person amongst those who work with me. This is normally not the job on which ladies work. Being a lady officer, I do not get adequate respect. The boss would hesitate to take lady officers on tours. Some people do not have confidence in the performance of the lady officers. I cannot sit for late hours. There are difficulties of bathroom etc. I feel alone in the social visits and cannot make use of my colleagues.

Government servants, under the rules of conduct, cannot marry more than one woman excepting in the case of death of wife or divorce legally granted. One cannot compete for governmental jobs if he has more than one wife living unless the Government of India, after being satisfied that there are special grounds for doing so, exempts any male candidate from the operation of this rule.²¹

We have observed that not many women are serving in administrative jobs in India. It is, however, a fact that for the past few years, compared to previous years, a large number of women have taken to such jobs. In a traditional transitional society, however, women who have taken up jobs have to face many odds. Endogenously, the ecology and structure of the working place and the attitude of other officials towards women, and exogenously, the attitude of society in general has influenced the pattern of work of women-bureaucrats.

Marital Status

We shall now consider the marital status of the bureaucrats. The marital status of the bureaucrats is as follows :

- 86.4 per cent married
- 11.5 per cent unmarried
- 1.0 per cent engaged
- 1.0 per cent widower

²¹Instructions to Candidates, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-72.

Table 3:7—Marital Status of Bureaucrats and Hierarchy

<i>Hierarchy</i>	<i>Married</i>	<i>Unmarried</i>	<i>Engaged</i>	<i>Widower</i>	<i>Total</i>
Upper	167 (95.4)	6 (3.4)	1 (0.6)	1 (0.6)	175 (100.0)
Middle	176 (88.0)	20 (10.0)	1 (0.5)	3 (1.5)	200 (100.0)
Lower	154 (77.0)	40 (20.0)	4 (2.0)	2 (1.0)	200 (100.0)
Total	497 (86.4)	66 (11.5)	6 (1.0)	6 (1.0)	575 (99.9)

A greater number of the lower bureaucrats belong to the age group 20 to 29, hence comparatively more (20 per cent) of them are unmarried.

Table 3:8—Marital Status of Bureaucrats and Specialization

<i>Specialization</i>	<i>Married</i>	<i>Unmarried</i>	<i>Engaged</i>	<i>Widower</i>	<i>Total</i>
Non technical	252 (91.6)	17 (6.2)	1 (0.4)	5 (1.8)	275 (100.0)
Technical	245 (81.7)	49 (16.3)	5 (1.7)	1 (0.3)	300 (100.0)

In the present study, 16.3 per cent of the technical bureaucrats are unmarried. This phenomenon can be explained on the interpretative scheme which suggests that the technical bureaucrats belong to the younger age group, the type of education which they acquire necessitates a longer duration, which also implies settling down in career late in life. Technical career also helps in enhancing their matrimonial prospects and leads to greater and wider search for suitable mate. The process thus takes a longer time in the negotiations and finalization of marriage.

There is no significant relationship between the type of bureaucracy and marital status. The marital status may affect the functioning of bureaucrats in certain ways. It was reported that in some cases wives were approached so that they could tell their husbands to get done certain official work of some interested persons. A few cases were narrated wherein gifts and speed-money were given to the wives in order to avoid direct embarrassment to the officials. Some lower officials get access to homes of their bosses. They help in the

household affairs of the bosses and get closer and informal with the wives of the bosses. Inquisitive wives come to know about office matters through such officials. It was reported that many official strains were unburdened by officials before wives for cathartic reasons. Since, in a search for identity the status of the wives depends largely on the status of the husbands, it was reported that some of them took pride in being addressed as Mem-Saheb. Such women adore a shadow of official halo which they try to show-off in their day to day behaviour and other social relationships. Wives of officials amongst themselves reveal status-hierarchy of their husbands, when they meet both in formal and informal situations. It was reported that although wives of the lower officials visited the homes of higher officials, the wives of higher officials rarely visited the homes of lower officials. The marital status of officials thus has interesting sociological implications in relation to bureaucracy.

Rural-Urban Background

The rural-urban background influences the style of life, personality, and various aspects of social life. The process of socialization tends to be different in rural and urban setting due to diverse cultural milieu. Urbanism has been characterized as 'a way of life'²² and cities have been considered as social facts of many dimensions.²³ Exposure to certain distinctive facilities, and the fact of living amidst greater numerical populace with developed transportation and vehicular system tend to form a different demographic and ecological pattern. This in turn influences the pattern of life. Thus one great difference which creates a fundamental chasm between rural and urban living pattern is the availability of certain facilities which have been historically absent in the traditional isolated setting of rural Rajasthan. Facilities for high education, specialized medicinal and modern surgical therapy, diversified

²²Louis Wirth, 'Urbanism as a Way of Life', in P.K. Hatt and A.J. Reiss (eds.), *Cities and Society*, Illinois: The Free Press, 1957, pp. 46-63.

²³Hatt and Reiss (eds.), 'The Nature of City', *ibid.*, p. 17.

trade and commerce catering to the satisfaction of numerous wants, commercialized entertainment, exposure to complex administrative machinery, awareness of different national issues, are the facilities and phenomena to which people living in the urban areas are exposed.

However, within, the last two decades the pace of change in the Indian rural setting has been unprecedented. Legislation abolishing Zamindari and Jagirdari systems, introduction of Panchayati Raj, construction of new roads, communication by bus etc., have altered the face of rural India.²¹

There were twenty-one princely states in Rajasthan prior to the integration of the States after independence. The administration was feudal. The princely states had status-differentiation amongst themselves based on factors like number of salute of guns to which one was entitled in the British days, size, population, revenue and glory of the dynasty. Villages which were administered by the State were called *Khalsa*. Villages which were given on rent-free revenues as gifts were called the *Muafi*. Villages administered through Jagirdars were termed as *Jagir* villages. The Britishers increasingly intervened in the affairs of the princely States as the political agent tried to settle disputes between the rulers of the States and their Jagirdars.

The feudal chief had the feeling of owning the village : others only belonged to it.²² Morris Carstairs has described feudal village very vividly. 'Each feudal lord had a palace. The size and grandeur of the palace depended on resources. The halls and courtyards of the palace were thronged with officials. It contained court, jail, harem, living space and was the hub of social life of the village. When the feudal lord went out of the palace bystanders bowed low and called *Kamahn—Annadata—Excuse us—Oh ! Giver of grain*. The authority of the Jagirdar was supreme. Forced labour was common and if his eyes fell on a beautiful belle, she was

²¹M.N. Srinivas, 'Introduction', M.N. Srinivas (ed.), *India's Villages*, Bombay : Asia Publishing House, 1962, p. 12.

²²Brij Raj Chauhan, *A Rajasthan Village*, New Delhi : VIT Publishing House, 1967, pp 269-271.

brought to him'.²⁶ The link of the village with the State was not only on the basis of Jagir on the administrative plans, but also in the learning of appropriate manners and style of life which used to pass on from the royal court to the Jagir village.²⁷ Overall political authority was conferred for tax collection in relation to villages and the ruler did not interfere if the village paid its tax and no great crime was committed.²⁸ Since then many changes have been witnessed. In Rajasthan, Jagir Resumption Act was passed in 1952 and by 1955 the Jagir Administration was brought to an end. However at the gateway of the palace of the former rulers a skeleton staff still mount guard and they receive a privy purse. Some of them have come into politics and have contested elections but the former autocracy has ended.

For the past decade or two more and more people have migrated to cities due to insufficient land, meagre income, attraction of city life, and in-service transfers.²⁹ Naturally competent individuals migrate to cities and there is no recirculation so as to send the good talent back to the countryside. This has great administrative implication as these bright persons fail to participate and aid in decentralized government programmes.³⁰ In fact, there is preponderance of administrative and professional services in the urban area in India. Bureaucratic organizations concentrate in cities though their functioning permeates the remotest corner of the villages specially in the case of public bureaucracy, through its officials. Cities have a complex of offices. After independence villages have felt the impact of a larger number of government officials due to emphasis on, and enlargement of, developmental activities.

²⁶G. Morris Carstairs, *A Village in Rajasthan—A Study in Rapid Social Change*, in M.N. Srinivas (ed.), *op cit.*, pp 36-41.

²⁷B R. Chauhan, *A Rajasthan Village*, *op cit.*, p. 272.

²⁸See Srinivas, 'The Social Structure of a Mysore Village', in M.N. Srinivas (ed.), *op cit*, p. 23.

²⁹Gerald Breese, *Urbanization in Newly Developing Countries*, Englewood Cliffs, N S.: Prentice Hall, 1966, pp 41-42.

³⁰N V. Sovani, *Urbanization and Urban India*, Bombay : Asia Publishing House, 1960, p. 69.

The above description shall help in understanding the nature of rural-urban settings with reference to the functioning of bureaucracy. In the present study, we find that only 24.9 per cent of the bureaucrats were born in villages, 26.1 per cent in towns and 49.0 per cent in cities. In a country which is predominantly agricultural and rural and which has 82.0 per cent³¹ of its population in rural areas, this high urban centredness in recruitment reveals a significant extent of closure, in structural terms, of membership to bureaucracy in the country. It may also imply a greater degree of exposure to urban ways and style of life among the bureaucrats. Urbanness in itself is an indicator of status. To be urban means to be more sophisticated, with wide-ranging tastes and greater alternatives in life.³² Other studies also confirm the findings that greater number of bureaucrats have urban background. For example, the study by Taub of IAS etc., reveals their urban background.³³ The study of Gould³⁴ reveals that only 16 per cent of the IAS and 31 per cent of RAS officers come from communities of 5,000 or less. The study of Bhambhri of 237 IAS recruits of 1966-67 and 1968-69 batches reveals that over 70 per cent of them come from urban background.³⁵ According to the interpretation of Bishwanath Prasad, 79 per cent of IAS have urban background.³⁶

All these studies are connected with higher civil service (excepting that of Gould which includes study of RAS officers—a middle category of public bureaucrats in Rajasthan). These studies have made only two categories—urban and rural. Presumably towns are included by them in the urban category. The analysis in the present study relates to the bureaucrats at all levels of official hierarchy.

³¹According to the *Census of India*, 1961.

³²Taub, *op cit.*, p. 69.

³³*Ibid*, p. 70.

³⁴Gould, *op cit.* p 220

³⁵Bhambhri, *The Indian Administrative Service*, *op cit.*, p. 264.

³⁶Bishwanath Prasad, *op cit.*, 138.

Table 3:9—Rural-Urban Background of Bureaucrats and Hierarchy

<i>Hierarchy</i>	<i>Village</i>	<i>Town</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Total</i>
Upper	39 (22.3)	45 (25.7)	91 (52.0)	175 (100.0)
Middle	49 (24.5)	49 (24.5)	102 (51.0)	200 (100.0)
Lower	55 (27.5)	56 (28.0)	89 (44.5)	200 (100.0)
Total	143 (24.9)	150 (26.1)	282 (49.0)	575 (100.0)

The upper and middle categories of bureaucrats have slightly higher urban background *vis-a-vis* the lower category. City living influences the level of aspiration and provides better opportunities and facilities for education.

Table 3:10—Rural-Urban Background of Bureaucrats and Specialization

<i>Specialization</i>	<i>Village</i>	<i>Town</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Total</i>
Non-technical	71 (25.8)	76 (27.6)	128 (46.5)	275 (99.9)
Technical	72 (24.0)	74 (24.7)	154 (51.3)	300 (100.0)

The technical bureaucrats comparatively have slightly higher urban background.

Table 3:11—Rural-Urban Background of Bureaucrats and Type

<i>Type</i>	<i>Village</i>	<i>Town</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Total</i>
Public	71 (23.7)	72 (24.0)	157 (52.3)	300 (100.0)
Private	72 (26.2)	78 (28.4)	125 (45.4)	275 (100.0)

Officers in public bureaucracy have a slightly higher urban background compared to the bureaucrats in industries. Recruitment in private bureaucracy has greater chances of being based on particularistic criteria of selection whereby people belonging to a particular caste, community, and sub-region can get selected.

We thus observe that only one-fourth of the bureaucrats have rural background. Further, technical and public bureaucrats and bureaucrats placed at the upper and middle

hierarchy of bureaucracy comparatively have higher urban background.

Provincial Background

The provincial background of the bureaucrats may help in understanding various aspects of universalistic and cosmopolitan orientation of members in the bureaucratic system. In a country which has great cultural diversity in terms of language, religion, custom and style of life, purposive reorganization of the various states by the government, on linguistic basis, has led to serious controversies and intricate problems. Feelings of regionalism have found more overt expression in recent years through organised forums of Shiv-Sena, DMK etc. The nature of the problem is considered to be so serious that it has been feared by many that the country may split into a number of small nationalities.³⁷ Political parties also have capitalized on much of the sentiment for linguistic states and the Government of India had been acceding to the demands of various linguistic groups.³⁸

A bureaucratic system in which people originating from and belonging to different regions of India serve tends to face several problems. Some of the problems are being delineated below :

1. In recruitment, transfers, placements and other bureaucratic anchor points regional considerations may outweigh rational considerations.
2. In getting certain things pushed through, in public bureaucracy, informal relationship based on identity of belonging to the same region may help.
3. Regional feelings may become more covertly strong amongst the 'outsiders', once the issues connected with

³⁷*Report of the Official Language Commission*, New Delhi : Govt. of India Press, 1957, p. 313.

³⁸Myron Weiner, *Politics of Scarcity*, Bombay : Asia Publishing House, 1963, p. 62.

it are publicly discussed and tend to become overtly strong amongst 'insiders'. This situation potentially threatens national integration.

Rajasthan being divided into various principalities prior to its integration did not create a unified sense of belonging to a province. The final integration of the various states took place only in 1950. We find in our study that 58.8 per cent of the bureaucrats belong to Rajasthan, while 37.0 per cent belong to other states of India. The recruitment of competent personnel from outside the region became necessary as princely states, after having observed the systematized administration of British India, wanted to adopt that pattern both for reasons of administrative efficiency and prestige. Moreover, locally such persons who had necessary educational background and administrative experience were not available.

After the integration of States, sub-regional feelings in terms of belonging to a particular erstwhile state have been reported to have come into being. It is interesting to note a remark in this connection made by Rao, in a meeting when he was the Chief Secretary of Rajasthan. He remarked :

Well in this room there are few Rajasthanis. Most of you are either Bikaneris, Jodhpuris, Jaipuris etc.³⁹

Sentiments based on regionalism are lately being raised even in the Rajasthan Legislative Assembly and reported in the regional newspapers. This can be attributed to greater educational expansion, elimination of economic and other backwardness and consequent self-awareness of the people. A region which is underdeveloped tends not only to tolerate but respect people from developed regions. But, as it itself grows it becomes more aware of its deprivations. This results into feelings of provincialism or regionalism.

In terms of hierarchy the largest number of non-Rajasthanis are in the upper level followed by middle and lower levels. Jaipur has become a centre for the IAS and allied examinations as late as in 1962. The number of candidates selected

³⁹B G. Rao, 'My Work in the ICS', in Kewal L. Panjabi (ed), *The Civil Servants in India*, Bombay : Bhartiya Vidya Bhawan, 1965, p. 288.

Table 3:12—Provincial Background of Bureaucrats and Hierarchy

<i>Hierarchy</i>	<i>Rajasthan</i>	<i>Other States</i>	<i>NR</i>	<i>Total</i>
Upper	95 (54.3)	74 (42.3)	6 (3.4)	175 (100.0)
Middle	110 (55.0)	79 (39.5)	11 (5.5)	200 (100.0)
Lower	133 (66.5)	60 (30.0)	7 (3.5)	200 (100.0)
Total	338 (58.8)	213 (37.0)	24 (4.2)	575 (100.0)

$$* \chi^2_1 = 7.33 \quad P < 0.05$$

*Excluding no response.

since then has increased. Two more Universities were opened in the year 1962 and 1963, at Jodhpur and Udaipur, respectively. Competitive examinations for Rajasthan Administrative Services were instituted in the year 1955. Entry to these services is open to any citizen of India who is otherwise qualified but knowledge of any one of the Rajasthani dialects is necessary to qualify for the examination. This in effect bars the entry of people from other States. This provision shall have its long-term implication as many of the urban born and urban educated children of this generation do not know the local Rajasthani dialect though they are born and brought up in a region of Rajasthan. Hindi is fast replacing local dialects in urban middle and upper class families in Rajasthan. Rajasthani as a language is not taught to the students at any stage of their educational career. There are, however, some institutes of research and learning which have made efforts to popularize and preserve literature in Rajasthani. Although the agitation to recognize Rajasthani as a language in the schedule of Constitution has never had any mass-base, for last two years there has been organized and vocal demand for setting up a department of Rajasthani language in the Universities of Rajasthan.

A greater number of technical bureaucrats are non-Rajasthanis. The relationship between provincial background and specialization is significant. Non-availability of technical

Table 3:13—Provincial Background of Bureaucrats and Specialization

<i>Specialization</i>	<i>*Rajasthan</i>	<i>Other States</i>	<i>NR</i>	<i>Total</i>
Non-technical	178 (64.7)	86 (31.3)	11 (4.0)	275 (100 0)
Technical	160 (53 3)	127 (42.3)	13 (4.3)	300 (99 9)

$$\chi^2_1 = 7.6 \text{ } P < .01$$

*Excluding no response.

personnel in the context of Rajasthan is obvious. Rajasthan had hardly any industries. None of the 23 princely States prior to integration had a technical college (excepting Pilani, which had most of the students from other parts of the country). Aspiration for technical education follows the aspiration for liberal education and its fulfilment.

Table 3:14—Provincial Background of Bureaucrats and Type

<i>Type</i>	<i>Rajasthan</i>	<i>Other States</i>	<i>NR</i>	<i>Total</i>
Public	210 (70.0)	76 (25.3)	14 (4.7)	300 (100 0)
Private	128 (46.5)	137 (49 8)	10 (3 6)	275 (99 9)

$$\chi^2_1 = 36.62 \text{ } P < 0.001$$

*Excluding no response.

Large commercial and industrial activities in India are in the hands of entrepreneurs culturally alien to the region in which they conduct their activities.⁴⁹ Though industrialists having their origin from Rajasthan have large industries in other parts of India, they have few industries in Rajasthan. All the three big industries in Kota are those of non-Rajasthanis. Two large industries in Jaipur belong to non-Rajasthanis. Recruitment in industries has been reported to be based on particularistic criteria of caste, community, and region. People belonging to Rajasthan have started clamouring for preference

⁴⁹Weiner, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

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<i>Hierarchy</i>	<i>Rajasthan</i>	<i>Other States</i>	<i>NR</i>	<i>Total</i>
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Middle	110 (55.0)	79 (39.5)	11 (5.5)	200 (100.0)
Lower	133 (66.5)	60 (30.0)	7 (3.5)	200 (100.0)
Total	338 (58.8)	213 (37.0)	24 (4.2)	575 (100.0)

$$* \chi^2_1 = 7.33 \quad P < 0.05$$

*Excluding no response.

since then has increased. Two more Universities were opened in the year 1962 and 1963, at Jodhpur and Udaipur, respectively. Competitive examinations for Rajasthan Administrative Services were instituted in the year 1955. Entry to these services is open to any citizen of India who is otherwise qualified but knowledge of any one of the Rajasthani dialects is necessary to qualify for the examination. This in effect bars the entry of people from other States. This provision shall have its long-term implication as many of the urban born and urban educated children of this generation do not know the local Rajasthani dialect though they are born and brought up in a region of Rajasthan. Hindi is fast replacing local dialects in urban middle and upper class families in Rajasthan. Rajasthani as a language is not taught to the students at any stage of their educational career. There are, however, some institutes of research and learning which have made efforts to popularize and preserve literature in Rajasthani. Although the agitation to recognize Rajasthani as a language in the schedule of Constitution has never had any mass-base, for last two years there has been organized and vocal demand for setting up a department of Rajasthani language in the Universities of Rajasthan.

A greater number of technical bureaucrats are non-Rajasthanis. The relationship between provincial background and specialization is significant. Non-availability of technical

in joint family. This pattern of living has been sanctified in scriptures and sanctioned in the secular law.⁴⁵

However, new strains and reactions are coming up which affect the traditional pattern of living in joint families. For example, educated daughters-in-law care less for old fashioned mothers-in-law.⁴⁶ Similarly, educated sons have become more vocal in their complaints against joint family. To illustrate the point, in a study conducted by K.T. Merchant 75.0 per cent of them opposed it.⁴⁷

In the present study 60 per cent of the bureaucrats were born in joint family and 46.8 per cent are living in joint family. Living in the joint family at the time of birth is quite high and the number of people living presently in the joint family is also quite significant. This suggests that more people are born in joint family and comparatively lesser number of people live in joint family presently. This could be explained by the fact that as a person grows up the family gets separated due to sheer expansion rather than only due to the decline of the joint family as an institution in India. The relationship between the variables of hierarchy, specialization and type and the form of family at birth is not significant. The chi square being: $\chi^2_1 = 1.74$ $P < 0.95$; $\chi^2_1 = 0.11$ $P < 0.95$ and $\chi^2_1 = 0.11$ $P < 0.95$ respectively.

The relationship between the type of present family and hierarchy is, however, significant. The chi square for the type of present family, and specialization, and type is: $\chi^2_1 = 0.05$ $P < 0.95$ and $\chi^2_1 = 1.95$ $P < 0.20$ respectively.

There is consistently marked lowering of the number of bureaucrats living in joint families as we move up from lower to higher ranks. This suggests that as a person moves up in hierarchy he shows preference for single living. It is more

⁴⁵David G. Mandelbaum, 'Social Organization—Planned Change in India', in M.N. Srinivas (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 15.

⁴⁶M.N. Srinivas, *Social Structure*, in the Gazetteer of India, Vol. I, Delhi: Publication Division, Govt. of India, 1965, p. 556.

⁴⁷Quoted by K.M. Kapadia, *Marriage and Family in India*, *op. cit.*, p. 331.

in jobs in industries. The Chief Minister, according to the General Manager of a large industrial concern in Kota, told him to give proper consideration and preference to Rajasthanis in recruitment. It was reported that the feeling was more overt in Kota where all big industrial concerns are managed by non-Rajasthanis.

Family Background

Type of Family : The type of the family influences not only the process of socialization but also the nature and extent of commitment to familial obligations. Family provides permanency of relationship which are normatively based on ties of affectivity and personal mutual involvement with each other. Joint family system has prevailed as a form of institution of family in India, and has been responsible for the continuation of cultural traditions of the country.⁴¹

According to Irawati Karve, joint family along with caste linguistic group, and village community forms the core of the traditional Hindu society.⁴² Living in joint family has been associated with agricultural occupation and it had been presumed by some that it cannot survive in the urban setting of India. Joint family as a mode of living is not based on the utilitarian considerations of economy and convenience but living in joint family has been a value in India.

Some studies reveal high prevalence of joint family in urban areas. In Navsari town, the prevalence of joint family was found to be greater than in the rural areas (fifteen adjoining villages).⁴³ The study of Mahua town by Desai reveals that 49.5 per cent of the families in the sample were joint.⁴⁴ Urban living does not seem to affect the pattern of familial living. This happens due to the deep-rooted traditional value of living

⁴¹K.M. Kapadia, *Marriage and Family in India*, Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1966, p. 273.

⁴²Irawati Karve, *Kinship Organization in India*, Poona, Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute, 1953, p.1.

⁴³K.M. Kapadia, 'Rural Family Patterns—A Study in Urban-Rural Relations', *Sociological Bulletin*, Vol. V, No. 2, Sept. 6, 1956, pp 111-126.

⁴⁴J P. Desai, 'The Joint Family in India—An Analysis', *Sociological Bulletin*, Vol. V, No. 2, Sept., 1956, pp. 144-156.

them the ability to challenge the authority of the elders in several ways.⁴⁸

Despite the new impacts the value for joint family life continues. In fact diversity of jobs facilitates continuation of joint family between parents and earning children, and between brothers. Brothers do not separate formally as they continue to hold the ancestral property jointly and share various social obligations, even though posted at different places.

Religious Background

India is a multi-religious and multi-lingual country having great cultural diversities. The major religious groups in the population of India are Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Buddhists, Jains and Parsees. It has been pointed out that the toleration of diversity has been a characteristic feature of Hinduism.⁴⁹ The test of secularism is not merely toleration of different religions. In fact an adequate proportion of minorities in different jobs strengthens secular democracy.⁵⁰ Since India is committed to democracy and secularism, it would be appropriate to ascertain whether minorities are adequately represented in jobs in public and private bureaucracies.

Table 3:16—Census 1961

<i>Religion</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
Hindus	9506815	8625875
Muslims	690102	624511
Sikhs	148008	126190
Christians	11707	11157
Others	324	593
	10564082	9591520
Total		20155602

⁴⁸A.D. Ross, *The Hindu Family in its Urban Setting*, Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1962, p. 30.

⁴⁹Srinivas, *Gazetteer of India*, *op. cit.*, p. 501.

⁵⁰Bishwanath Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

Table 3:15—Type of Present Family of Bureaucrats and Hierarchy

<i>Hierarchy</i>	<i>Joint</i>	<i>Single</i>	<i>Total</i>
Upper	61 (34.9)	114 (65.1)	175 (100.0)
Middle	95 (47.5)	105 (52.5)	200 (100.0)
Lower	113 (56.5)	87 (43.5)	200 (100.0)
Total	269 (46.8)	306 (53.2)	575 (100.0)

$$\chi^2 = 17.62 \quad P < 0.001$$

compatible to live together for such brothers who have similar social status begotten through bureaucratic position at middle and lower hierarchies than for brothers holding jobs of unequal prestige. The normative pressure of living together is strong for those who are at the middle and lower levels of status. It is significant to observe that while 56 per cent of the upper rank bureaucrats were born in joint family, only 34.9 per cent of them are living presently in the joint family. In the case of lower category of bureaucrats, while 62.5 per cent of the bureaucrats were born in joint family 56.5 per cent of them are presently living in the joint family. The higher bureaucrats thus have greater individualistic orientation. Higher status achievement makes them ignore the pressures of conformity to traditional norms. Placement in a high job career is a more potent protector of status against the deviation from the traditional norms. The high bureaucrats are creating values of living separately. Wives of upper rank bureaucrats are also reported to be instrumental in separation as they have higher educational attainment and exposure to western values of life and are, thus, able to strive for equality, independence and privacy, which is more feasible when the family is neolocal and nuclear. Ross has observed in her study of urban middle class family that the changing Indian economy offers considerable occupational mobility which enables individuals to be independent of the family and gives

the managing directors. It was reported that in certain positions in industries people of the community to which the managing director belonged were recruited. These posts may not be high in rank but require trust and reliance to keep matters confidential. Some such trusted officials secretly keep on reporting about the activities of other officials to keep the managing director well informed.

Father's Occupation

Father's occupation is one of the indexes of the status and social background of bureaucrats. In a country which has been predominantly agricultural a large section of people has been dependent on agricultural activities for livelihood. Modern jobs have emerged as a result of urban growth, progress of education, and the advancement of technology. Salaried executives, civil servants, well-to-do shop-keepers make the modern occupations and form the middle-class.⁵⁴ We have earlier findings to denote that a large number of bureaucrats have urban background. This logically conforms with their parental occupational background also.

The various categories of responses obtained in our open-ended question about father's occupation have been classified into the following types: (1) administrative occupations, (2) agricultural occupation, (3) business occupation, (4) teaching, (5) others.

Table 3: 17—Father's Occupation of the Bureaucrats

<i>Father's occupation</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
1. Administrative occupations	284	49.4
2. Agricultural occupation	48	8.3
3. Professional occupation	53	9.2
4. Business occupation	106	18.4
5. Teaching	37	6.4
6. Others	47	8.2
	575	99.9

⁵⁴B.B. Misra, *The Indian Middle Class*, Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1961, pp. 12-13.

In the present study 95.5 per cent of the bureaucrats are Hindus, 1.4 per cent Muslims, 1.6 per cent Sikhs and 1.6 per cent Christians. The distribution of population according to religion in Rajasthan is given in Table 3:16.⁵¹ Muslims are numerically the second largest in number in Rajasthan, yet their representation proportionately is very imbalanced. The study of IAS recruits between 1948 and 1960 by Trivedi and Rao reveals that 90 per cent of the recruits were Hindus, 4.4 per cent Sikhs, 2.9 per cent Christians while only 1.9 per cent Muslims.⁵² Only one Muslim candidate was selected in the IAS examination of 1971⁵³ (examination held in Nov., 1970). In public bureaucracy there does not seem to be any bias against the recruitment of Muslims. This inadequate representation of Muslims can be attributed to the general educational, economic and social backwardness of the Muslims.

Some Muslims have occupied high positions in the erstwhile princely States of Rajasthan. Sir Mirza Ismail who was the Chief Minister (Diwan) of former Jaipur State enjoyed great esteem and respect from the public. In some princely States Muslims were favoured for certain high positions. Firstly, this was one of the ways to appease and win over the minority. Secondly, this was used as a means to get over internal rivalries and jealousies of majority community who vied with each other for high positions. Thirdly, since Muslims had dominated the political scene in India for a long time a certain belief in their superior administrative ability emerged as a result of having been defeated by them.

In industrial bureaucracy, it was reported specifically that a definite negative attitude existed regarding recruitment of Muslims. No specific reason was assigned for it, except the existence of certain stereotypes or prejudices. Interestingly, top positions in industrial bureaucracy which we have studied, are being held by persons belonging to the caste or region of

⁵¹Census of India, Govt. of India, Vol. XIV, 1961, pp. 288-289.

⁵²See Trivedi and Rao, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-88.

⁵³*Hindustan Times*, 25th April, 1971.

The above table reveals that 49.4 per cent of the fathers of the bureaucrats have been engaged in administrative jobs, 18.4 per cent in business, 9.2 per cent in professions like medicine and law, 6.4 per cent in teaching, and only 8.3 per cent in agricultural occupations. To administrative jobs belong the highest number of parents of the bureaucrats. The Britishers, in the wake of administrative consolidation of this vast country, had to establish a large scale administrative machinery for the management of diverse affairs. This necessitated creation of a large number of jobs in public bureaucracy. Gradually a job in public bureaucracy which gave certain authority, security, and prestige began to be considered very respectable. There was traditional bias against industrial occupations.⁵⁵ Professions like law, engineering, and medicine developed gradually as a result of western education, codification of law, construction activities of buildings, railways, etc., and effective treatment of ailments through allopathic medicine.

Some other studies also corroborate our findings. The study of Trivedi and Rao reveals that fathers of those who were recruited between 1948 and 1960 have been in government service.⁵⁶ We also find that 42.8 per cent of the high administrators studied by Taub had their fathers in government service.⁵⁷ Gould's study of upper and middle level of bureaucrats in Rajasthan also reveals that 52 per cent of the fathers of IAS, and 50 per cent of the RAS, officials have been in government service.⁵⁸ While these studies relate to higher bureaucrats our study reveals a similar pattern for bureaucrats at all levels of bureaucratic hierarchy.

Only 8.3 per cent of fathers of the bureaucrats have agriculture as an occupation although nearly 75 per cent of people are engaged in agriculture in India. In the study of Trivedi and

⁵⁵Misra, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

⁵⁶See Trivedi and Rao, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-80.

⁵⁷Taub, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

⁵⁸Gould, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

Table 3:18—Father's Education and Hierarchy

<i>Hierarchy</i>	<i>No formal education</i>	<i>Primary</i>	<i>Middle</i>	<i>Second- ary</i>	<i>Under- graduate</i>	<i>Gra- duate</i>	<i>Post- graduate</i>	<i>NR</i>	<i>Total</i>
Upper	25 (14.3)	8 (4.6)	21 (12.0)	46 (26.3)	13 (7.4)	42 (24.0)	18 (10.3)	2 (1.1)	175 (100.0)
Middle	24 (12.0)	14 (7.0)	24 (12.0)	48 (24.0)	23 (11.5)	47 (23.5)	10 (5.0)	10 (5.0)	200 (100.0)
Lower	31 (15.5)	30 (15.0)	33 (16.5)	49 (24.5)	14 (7.0)	22 (11.0)	11 (5.5)	10 (5.0)	200 (100.0)
Total	80 (13.9)	52 (9.0)	78 (13.6)	143 (24.9)	50 (8.7)	111 (19.3)	39 (6.8)	22 (3.8)	575 (99.8)

tional mobility for large number of groups lower in social hierarchy.

The Britishers initiated a programme of education in India based on a model which could help to produce government officials of lower rank.⁴⁴ This decision was based on administrative expediency. Colonial rule did not envisage education for large number of people and thus was never planned in that direction. The level of educational attainment of fathers of the bureaucrats was a phenomenon which depended on the extent and availability of educational opportunities and the aspirations to obtain it. The educational background of the fathers may determine the career goals of their children. An educated father is more conscious of his children getting adequate education since educational attainments to a large extent determine the nature and type of job-opportunities.

We find that 13.9 per cent of the fathers of bureaucrats had no formal education, 9.0 per cent primary, 13.6 per cent middle, 24.7 per cent secondary, 8.7 per cent under-graduate, 19.3 per cent graduate and 6.8 per cent post-graduate (3.8 per cent no response). Thus only 26.1 per cent of the fathers of bureaucrats have had a college degree. It is significant to note that 13.9 per cent of the fathers of bureaucrats did not have formal education and only in 6.8 per cent cases their fathers have been highly educated. This shows that father's education does not significantly influence the career pattern of their bureaucrat sons. However, this is true only for the lower level of career in bureaucracy because in the case of higher bureaucrats we find that the educational background of their fathers, too, tends to be higher. This holds true also for technical bureaucrats. Thus, 34.3 per cent of the fathers of bureaucrats placed at the upper level have university degrees, while the percentage of university degrees for the fathers of bureaucrats at the middle and lower level is 28.5 per cent and 16.5 per cent respectively. Thus fathers of upper level bureaucrats have comparatively higher educational attainment. Educated fathers have high

⁴⁴*Ibid*, pp. 149-155.

Table 3:19—Father's Education and Specialization

<i>Specialization</i>	<i>No formal education</i>	<i>Primary</i>	<i>Middle</i>	<i>Secondary</i>	<i>Under-graduate</i>	<i>Graduate</i>	<i>Post-graduate</i>	<i>NR</i>	<i>Total</i>
Non-technical	45 (16.4)	35 (12.7)	45 (16.4)	68 (24.7)	15 (5.4)	40 (14.5)	12 (4.4)	15 (5.4)	275 (99.9)
Technical	35 (11.7)	17 (5.7)	33 (11.0)	75 (25.0)	35 (11.7)	71 (23.7)	27 (9.0)	7 (2.3)	300 (100.1)

aspiration for their sons and are likely to help in planning the career pattern more effectively.

We find that 32.7 per cent of the fathers of technical bureaucrats have a university degree while only 18.9 per cent of the fathers of non-technical bureaucrats have a university degree. For the past decade and a half, educated fathers have preferred sending their children for technical education. The preference for such education has been related to greater and more prestigious job-opportunities in the technical field and relatively greater certainty of getting a job. This explains greater rush for admissions in colleges and selective admissions of meritorious students. Lately, however, there has been a rapid fall specially in the engineering jobs. The relationship between father's education and type of bureaucracy is not significant.

Nature of Schooling

There may be an impression that most bureaucrats at higher level have had schooling in public and English medium schools and those at the lower levels in vernacular medium school.

In our study we find that only 20.2 per cent of the bureaucrats have had public schooling while 79.8 per cent bureaucrats had their education in vernacular schools. We find that there is no significant relationship between school background and hierarchy and school background and specialization. Some other studies also confirm the findings that there is no relationship between public schooling and high career. As against 14.8 per cent amongst the ICS who had their education in public school, in the IAS the extent is only 8.4 per cent.⁶⁵ The study of Bhambhri reveals that only 20 per cent of the 309 probationers selected in 1966-67 had public school background.⁶⁶ However if we examine the number of students

⁶⁵Bishwanath Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

⁶⁶Bhambhri, *'Higher Civil Service in India'*, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

government employment.⁶⁸ Education gradually became necessary for government jobs. Still, during a century of systematic state-aided educational effort, by 1947, only 12.2 per cent of the people in the country had been made literate.⁶⁹ The approach of the British Government, thus, did not stress mass education but equipping a section of the society for government jobs.

Prior to the integration of different states of Rajasthan, in various small princely states people with low education had occupied high positions. Three decades back, in a State of Rajasthan⁷⁰ a person with education only upto middle class was appointed Munsif, another person with only a high school certificate was appointed treasury officer and a person having practical experience of road construction etc., was appointed chief engineer. Appointment of people with low educational qualification was due partly to non-availability of qualified persons from within the State and also because recruitment of people was based on considerations of caste and family.

Conditions since then have changed considerably. There has been rapid educational expansion after independence at school and college level in Rajasthan. There are three universities, 56 colleges for liberal and general education, 25 for professional education and 23 colleges for special education.⁷¹ Today a university degree has become necessary for jobs in all bureaucratic organizations. In our study, only .6 per cent of the bureaucrats have education upto only middle class, 7.6 per cent upto secondary stage, 14.4 per cent under-graduate level, 45.2 per cent graduate level, 21.6 per cent post-graduate level (10.6 per cent no response). Thus less than 8.1 per cent of the bureaucrats have education below college level, whereas 81.2 per cent of the bureaucrats have college education out of

⁶⁸Selig S. Harrison, *India—The Most Dangerous Decades*, Madras: Oxford University Press, 1960, p. 57.

⁶⁹Education in Eighteen Years of Freedom, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

⁷⁰Sirohi State.

⁷¹*Basic Statistics*, Rajasthan 1965, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Rajasthan, Jaipur, p. 125.

who read in public schools the present findings would have to be differently interpreted.

There is a significant relationship between the type of bureaucracy and schooling background.

Table 3:20—Schooling Background and Type

Type	English medium public school	Vernacular school	Total
Public	28 (9.3)	272 (90.7)	300 (100.0)
Private	88 (32.0)	187 (68.0)	275 (100.0)
$\chi^2_1 = 45.78 \quad P < 0.001$			

Bureaucrats in industries have significantly higher public school background. It is believed that public schooling develops certain personality traits like self-confidence, a sense of discipline, proficiency in games, general smartness and ability to talk in English fluently. Some of these traits are desired for certain jobs in private bureaucracy. The relationship between schooling background and hierarchy and type is not significant. The chi square is as under :

Schooling background and hierarchy $\chi^2_2 = 2.95 \quad P < 0.30$

Schooling background and specialization $\chi^2_1 = 1.29 \quad P < 0.70$

Educational Qualifications

A certain level of educational attainment has increasingly become essential for jobs in bureaucracy. Systematic education on a state-supported basis was begun in early nineteenth century by the British rulers.⁶¹ Lord Macaulay's education minute of March 7, 1835, set the British Indian education policy and, by 1857, a University degree which meant in effect facility in English was mandatory for higher

⁶¹*Education in Eighteen Years of Freedom*, Ministry of Education, Government of India: Manager of Publications, Delhi, 1965, p. 3.

master's degree or bachelor's+degree.⁷⁵ The study of Bhambhri reveals that 50 per cent of the probationers in 1966-67 and 1967-68 batches had teaching experience at a college or a university.⁷⁶ Gould's study of bureaucrats in Rajasthan reveals that in 1960 out of eighteen IAS officers eleven had come from teaching profession.⁷⁷

Recruitment of a large number of IAS officials from the teaching profession reveals that higher education helps in recruitment to the IAS and allied services. For recruitment in teaching profession a master's degree with at least second class is necessary. Some of the young college and university teachers keep on preparing for IAS examination along with their teaching job. A teaching job usually provides adequate facilities for preparation for competitive examinations. Books and journals are readily available. Teaching also improves oral expression and inculcates a certain amount of self-confidence which helps in the interview. Higher education seems to be essential for getting into the top bureaucratic cadre although this by itself may not be a sufficient condition. Many highly educated youth, as we know well, remain unemployed in India and have either to take up jobs not commensurate with their education or suffer in despair of unemployment. All this goes to reinforce the argument that top bureaucrats constitute a highly privileged group.

This has at least two significant implications : (1) high civil servants are too remote, too cut off by social and cultural background, from the great majority of community and this tells upon their effectiveness in policy administration,⁷⁸ and (2) since higher education can be attained only by those who can afford it in terms of money, real equality of opportunity does not exist.⁷⁹ Adequate education is necessary for entry

⁷⁵Bachelor's+degree means B A. (Hons.), B Sc. (Hons.), B Com. (Hons.), B E. and equivalent degree.

Bhambhri, *The Indian Administrative Service*, op. cit., p. 264.

⁷⁶Gould, op. cit., p. 195.

⁷⁸Hansen, A N., *The Process of Planning : A Study of India's Five Year Plans, 1950-69*, London : Oxford University Press, 1966, p. 261.

⁷⁹Mougels P. Nicos, *Organization and Bureaucracy : An Analysis of Modern Theories*, London : Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967, p. 23.

which 66.8 per cent have university degrees. The number of bureaucrats having university education is very high while the national and State average of literacy is low. The national percentage of mere literacy is only 24.0 per cent and that of Rajasthan 15.2 per cent. The all India percentage of female education is 13.0 per cent and for Rajasthan 5.8 per cent.⁷² According to provisional figures of the census of 1971 the percentage of literacy in Rajasthan is 18.79. The percentage for male is 28.42 and for female 8.26.⁷³ The relationship of educational attainment and hierarchy is as under :

Table 3:21—Educational Attainments of Bureaucrats and Hierarchy

<i>Hierarchy</i>	<i>Upto middle</i>	<i>Secon- dary</i>	<i>Under- gra- duate</i>	<i>Graduate</i>	<i>Post- gra- duate</i>	<i>NR</i>	<i>Total</i>
Upper	1 (0.6)	3 (1.7)	11 (6.3)	92 (52.6)	53 (30.3)	15 (8.6)	175 (100.1)
Middle	1 (0.5)	8 (4.0)	18 (9.0)	103 (51.5)	44 (22.0)	26 (13.0)	200 (100.0)
Lower	1 (0.5)	33 (16.5)	54 (27.0)	65 (32.5)	27 (13.5)	20 (10.0)	200 (100.0)
Total	3 (0.6)	44 (7.6)	83 (14.4)	260 (45.2)	124 (21.6)	61 (10.6)	575 (100.0)

In this study, 82.9 per cent of the bureaucrats at upper level have university degrees, 73.5 per cent of the bureaucrats at middle level and 46.0 per cent of the bureaucrats at the lower level have university degrees. Thus, upper bureaucrats have higher education followed by middle and lower level of bureaucrats.

Most of the IAS officers have had higher education not because of their quest for and commitment to knowledge but because it is part of the recruitment procedure.⁷⁴ Most of the candidates who are selected for the IAS and allied services have

⁷²India 1963, *A Reference Annual*, Publication Division, Government of India, Delhi, 1968, p. 64.

⁷³Census of India 1971, *Provisional Population Totals*, Jaipur ; Director of Census Operation, Rajasthan, 1971, p. 7.

⁷⁴Taub, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

hierarchy and specialization. Upper bureaucrats have in greater number accommodation provided by the employer.

Table 3:22—Accommodation and Hierarchy

<i>Hierarchy</i>	<i>Accommodation by employer</i>	<i>Rented house</i>	<i>Own house</i>	<i>Total</i>
Upper	55 (31.4)	76 (43.4)	44 (25.1)	175 (100 0)
Middle	43 (21.5)	118 (59.0)	39 (19.5)	200 (100 0)
Lower	30 (15.0)	127 (63.5)	43 (21.5)	200 (100.0)
Total	128 (22.3)	321 (55.8)	126 (21.9)	575 (100 0)

$$\chi^2_1 = 20.07 \quad P < 0.001$$

Owning a house does not appear to depend very significantly on rank. Possessing and building a house has been a value with people of all classes, although the type of house and nature of construction differs from class to class. Houses may be inherited also. Thus one may possess a house without actually having constructed it.

What is significant in the above table is the fact of availability of accommodation provided by the employer for higher bureaucrats. This shows how bureaucrats at higher level tend to take decisions which provide better conveniences for them and help in retaining career benefits or improving them.

Table 3:23—Accommodation and Specialization

<i>Specialization</i>	<i>Accommodation by employer</i>	<i>Rented house</i>	<i>Own house</i>	<i>Total</i>
Non-technical	73 (26.5)	130 (47.3)	72 (26.2)	275 (100 0)
Technical	55 (18.3)	191 (63.7)	54 (18.0)	300 (100 0)

$$\chi^2_1 = 15.63 \quad P < 0.001$$

The non-technical people get in greater number of accommodation for living provided by the employer. They also live in their own houses in greater number.

into bureaucratic jobs, yet a great many of people are illiterate in Indian society. Even primary education is yet not free and compulsory. The ideal and goal of creation of a socialistic pattern of society thus remain fundamentally distant.

Residential Accommodation

Bureaucrats in government do not have permanency of a post and placement. Transfers and promotions make them move from one place to another. In the industrial bureaucracy also change from one organization to another can lead to movement from one place to another. In such industrial concerns which have geographically spread out branches transfers become possible. However, the incidence of transfer is higher in the public bureaucracy.

Whatever be the place, residential accommodation becomes one of the problems for the officials which may cause some strain. Officials live in accommodation provided by the employer, rent a house or live in their own houses. The houses provided by the employer are very few and a limited number of officials are able to secure accommodation in such houses. For government bureaucrats houses vary from 'A' class bungalows to 'F' type quarters which are allotted according to official position of the bureaucrats. The Government gives house-rent allowance to such bureaucrats who live in cities having a population of more than one lakh. This allowance is 7.5 per cent of the salary. Those officials who have government accommodation have to pay 10 per cent of their salary. They do not get any house-rent allowance.

In the present study 22.3 per cent of the bureaucrats live in accommodation provided by the employer, 55.8 per cent in rented houses and 21.9 per cent in their own houses. There is no significant relationship with type of bureaucracy and mode of residential accommodation. However, there is a significant relationship between the type of accommodation and

crats which is evident from the fact that 99.6 per cent of the bureaucrats know English. An equal number of people know Hindi as well. This shows that people from different regions pick up quickly the language of the region where they continuously serve. This helps both in facile communication and identification with the people and place where one works.

Language Used at Home

Language used at home gives the dominant linguistic background of the bureaucrats. We find that 53.0 per cent of the bureaucrats use Hindi, 2.8 per cent English, 30.8 per cent exclusively regional language and 13.4 per cent mixed languages at home. Thus a little more than half of the bureaucrats use Hindi at home. Rajasthan has many dialects. In the absence of any one language which could be intelligible to the people of the various sub-regions of Rajasthan, Hindi has become a unifying language for the urban population.

A spontaneous urge to use one's regional language develops when one is outside one's own region. This gives them a sense of closeness and inculcates in them a feeling of belonging to similar background. Thus, for a minority group language becomes a basis for identification and group formation. The in-group and out-group lines are drawn along language lines.⁸³ Feelings of regionalism thus could be associated with the language of communication. The possibility of the emergence and formation of two types of regionalism can be envisaged. Internal regionalism is one such type which implies favouring people from within the region and rejection of people from other regions. External regionalism is the other type which implies favouring people of one's own region of origin in preference to the people of the region where one works or settles down. Gore believes that if the host group is economically and politically dominant its members are in a tolerant

⁸³Gore, *op. cit.*, p. 1227.

There is no significant relationship with the variable of type: $\chi^2_2 = 4.969$ $P < 0.10$.

Language Background

The background of language of the bureaucrats and their ability to communicate in different languages can reveal certain aspects connected with the problem of regionalism, role of bureaucracy in national integration, and the ability to grasp a language necessary for administrative functioning. Residents in cities of India have multilingual character.⁸⁰ Language is one of the major foci of political, economic, and cultural affiliation as well as differentiation. Some language is invariably learnt by birth as it runs in the family as a means of communication between its members. It tends to become an important particularistic influence in the multilingual metropolis in India.⁸¹

In the present study 99.8 per cent of the bureaucrats can speak Hindi, 99.6 per cent English, 29 per cent Urdu, 66.3 per cent regional languages, and 8.2 per cent foreign languages. This shows the multilinguism of the people. It happens naturally in a country which has one language for administration, a different one for instruction in education, another for communication between common people in society and still other for use at home. In our study 63.3 per cent of the persons know some regional languages which also means that 36.7 per cent of the people have Hindi as their regional language.

English has been a common language of the new national elite and has been considered an important factor for unification of India at the top.⁸² It has been a language of bureau-

⁸⁰M.S. Gore, 'Language in Metropolitan Life', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Special Number, Vol. IV, July 1969, p. 1225.

⁸¹*Ibid.*, p. 1225.

⁸²Harrison, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

ignorance of the bureaucrats about rural problems and lack of understanding about the developmental work in rural areas which would have accrued to them if their early socialization would have been in that environment. This can adversely influence the goal achievement process of government bureaucracy. Administrative background of the fathers of bureaucrats implies lack of generational mobility in the pattern of career. It has been also observed that fathers of the bureaucrats who either belong to upper rank or are technical officials have had comparatively higher education. Not many fathers of the bureaucrats have had college education but they have made efforts to educate their children due to their administrative position and consequent awareness of the importance of education in career building. Higher educational background of fathers of the bureaucrats helps in generating aspirations in the sons for higher and prestigious jobs.

Bureaucrats in the government do not have public school background nor does it help in recruitment and promotion to higher positions in public bureaucracy. However, a high education and university degree are generally necessary for recruitment in bureaucratic organizations, while the opportunities for education are limited in the general context of Indian society. The area of recruitment in effect becomes limited. There is no logical relationship between high formal education and administrative efficiency. Too much premium on high education, along with very limited facilities and lack of opportunity for high education for a large number of young people in the country, tends to make bureaucracy a closed group. A communication-gap between educated administrators and illiterate masses seems to be inevitable. This is detrimental specially for public bureaucracy which has to function within a government committed to bring socialism and engaged in the developmental activities in various spheres.

As far as the mode of living is concerned it has been observed that more than half of the bureaucrats were born in joint family and a little less than half are presently living in joint family. The impact of the traditional pattern of joint family living with a sense of familial obligation has potentiality of particularism in administrative functioning.

mood and the guest groups are accepted with little opposition and where the local group perceives itself as economically subservient it defies the guest group as exploiters.⁸⁴

In Rajasthan language has not been an issue for mass agitation. Feelings of regionalism did not have any overt and organized expression so far, nor did the bureaucrats make any reference to its prevalence in Rajasthan. However, it was reported that sub-regional identification and loyalty existed. Mention of certain sub-regions was more frequent specially those of Jodhpur and Udaipur. Complaint of the neglect of certain regions in Rajasthan was also voiced. Some officers thought that feelings of caste and caste-like groups were influencing the functioning of bureaucracy.

While applying Gore's thesis to our situation we find that during the princely era, guest group was accepted due to the fact that general backwardness did not lead to competition. Later on, due to changing socio-economic and political conditions, alien feelings towards outsiders gradually developed although host group was not yet sufficiently equipped materially and mentally, to voice its resentment. Very recently, however, expression of regional feelings by local population against people from other provinces has come from the local people in universities and from a region where rapid industrial expansion is taking place.

Summary

The social background of the bureaucrats reveals that though there are certain universalistic features, predominantly a certain type of background is uniformly homogeneous in throwing up bureaucrats. Although in certain dimensions new elements can be discerned yet there is recruitment bias in favour of certain traits. Bureaucracy tends to be influenced by the predominance of urban educated officials whose fathers have had administrative background. This would imply

⁸⁴*Ibid*, p. 1229.

cratic system as such, but it reflects the general educational and economic deprivations of the Muslim community. The facts, however, remain that the share of Muslims in the services is demonstrably low though it is not due to partiality or discrimination.⁸⁵ Despite low recruitment of Muslims, administration has been secular. However, it has led to certain consequences notable amongst which is the sense of frustration and isolation amongst Muslims. This has led to their disinterestedness in the country's efforts at progress and prosperity.⁸⁶

It is interesting to note that almost every bureaucrat understands Hindi and English and most of them have knowledge of a regional language—other than Hindi. The three-language formula seems to exist without any planned effort or inducement. This fact reinforces the contention that bureaucracy has played an important role in the process of national integration and cultural assimilation.

Officials in bureaucratic organizations in Rajasthan belong to different parts of the country though the number of officials from outside Rajasthan is higher in the private bureaucracy. Compared to other levels, the number of outsiders is greater at the upper level and in the technical category. This signifies socio-economic backwardness, lack of industrial growth, and a sudden and rapid process of administrative and industrial expansion in Rajasthan. Almost all the early bureaucrats belonging to Rajasthan had their education in other parts of the country due to lack of adequate facilities for higher education in Rajasthan. This has led to the emergence of certain cosmopolitan traits in urban Rajasthan. Dominant regional feelings have been absent so far which has helped in the administrative efficiency. This has also helped the process of adjustment of officials from different parts of the country. Politicians in the State have refrained from accusations of regionalism, though expression of sub-regional feelings are not lacking. Very recently, however, expression of regional feelings by local population against people from

⁸⁵Sayed A. Ali, Muslim Isolation : 'A Question of Vested Interests', *Hindustan Times*, Sunday, June 6, 1971, p. 7.

⁸⁶*Ibid*, p. 7.

Officials in upper rank belong to the higher age-group which signifies that promotion is based on seniority and experience. This may lead to greater rigidity and lack of innovative spirit in the bureaucracy. It may be difficult for such officials who have worked in a particular way, to change their mode of functioning or be receptive to innovative methods and ideas. Officials in private bureaucracy belong to younger age-group. Greater need for technical officials is a post-independence phenomenon. Similarly much of the industrial expansion is also a post-independence feature. This led to recruitment of younger people. Private bureaucracy further emphasizes the traits of initiative, drive, dash etc., for certain jobs which go with young age.

Some women have been recruited to high civil service and others have taken up jobs at various other levels. They have been put to some strain in their functioning as the actual prevailing social norms still do not reflect equality of sex. Free mixing with women even in colleges and universities has yet not become common in Rajasthan. Yet women in larger number in Rajasthan have taken to jobs in teaching and medicine. Looking to the traditional conservatism of the province as a whole this change is quite marked. Women, however, have not taken up jobs in private bureaucracy in Rajasthan. Wives of bureaucrats, specially in public bureaucracy, are overconscious of the status of their husbands and reveal it in their pattern of interpersonal relationships with others. They, thus, identify and project husbands' official status.

Residential accommodation provided by the employer signifies a highly visible objective status differentiation. The hugeness and grandeur of houses of the high bureaucrats in contrast to small and simple houses of lower ones signifies the manifestation of feudal traits in administrative vision and outlook. There are very few Muslims in administration which is disproportionate to the total number in the context of the State. The number of Muslims in private bureaucracy is negligible which is largely due to the feeling of cultural alienness and less due to mistrust. The lesser number of Muslims in public bureaucracy reveals not any prejudice of the bureau-

Pattern of Interaction in Bureaucracy

The need for social relationship with other people is one of the strongest and most constant of human drives.¹ Weber's theoretical analysis has been criticized for examining the formal characteristics of bureaucracy, ignoring the informal groupings and relationships which occur in actual practice.² According to Moore, formal structure itself provides sufficient

¹Leonard R. Sayles and George Strauss, *Human Behaviour in Organization*, New Jersey : Prentice-Hall Inc., 1966, p. 83.

²Peter M. Blau, 'The Hierarchy of Authority in Organizations', *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 73, No. 4, January 1968, pp. 453-454.

other regions has been voiced by people in the universities and from a region where rapid industrial expansion is taking place.

Various studies have revealed that people from lower middle-class have been achieving high positions in administration. Braibanti interprets the large number of recruits at the upper level from the lower income group in recent years as a sign of levelling in the service.⁸⁷

According to Bhambhri entry into the top line service cadres from lower income group has led to erosion of socio-economic inequalities.⁸⁸ Potter also suggests that though higher line service draws upon an elite in Indian society, there has been lately evidence of a levelling downward.⁸⁹ This trend does not reveal any significant levelling in Indian society or even erosion of the socio-economic inequalities. The same study (Bhambhri's) reveals that candidates with higher university qualifications, urban background, previous experience of some profession, whose parents have been employed in modern professions, have greater chances of success in the IAS.⁹⁰

Due to expansion in educational opportunity aspirations in people living in urban area for high jobs have increased. However, recruitment from lower middle strata of society has not helped in de-aristocratization of higher bureaucracy. Due to new value of aristocracy and continuing pressure of feudal values these officials try to de-identify themselves with the group of their origin and tend to keep themselves aloof from the masses. The gap between the administrator and citizen, though narrowed a little, continues to be wide.

Lack of identification of the bureaucrats with the rural and illiterate masses and with the common man, along with a heightened sense of social and positional superiority by upper bureaucrats, tends to thwart the effective implementation of the Plans and its various goals.

⁸⁷Braibanti, 'Reflections on Bureaucratic Reform in India', in Braibanti and Sprengler (eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 54.

⁸⁸Bhambhri, 'Higher Civil Service in India', *op. cit.*, pp. 266-67.

⁸⁹Potter, 'Bureaucratic Change in India', in Ralph Braibanti (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 165.

⁹⁰Bhambhri, *The Indian Administrative Service*, *op. cit.*, p. 264.

importance to the aspects of informal relationship.⁹ There are several dimensions on which the aspects of informal relationships can be analysed. Prior to that we briefly delineate various patterns of informality and their consequences. Social relationship may be formed within office or outside the official milieu. But such relationship emerges basically due to initial formal interaction within office. The nature of such relationship has spontaneity and it may occur in specific situations and occasions or it may endure and assume a certain pattern. In terms of the quality of such relationship, the informal relationship may be personal-affective whereby emotional ties are established. Alternatively, informal relationship may be personal but affectively-neutral. The formation of such relationship is not necessitated by bureaucratic norms as ideally formulated. These relationships can take the form of a clique or group which operates on the basis of non-bureaucratic norms.

Informal relationship emerges due to a variety of reasons and performs certain functions. Maintenance of strict formal impersonal relationship, as envisaged by ideal-typical bureaucratic norm, in practice may not only be improbable, but logically inconsistent in relation to realization of bureaucratic goals. Thus certain type of informal relationships may increase efficiency and be necessary. Formation of informal relationship in relation to goal-achievement of bureaucracy may be positive, negative, or neutral. In other words, it may be functional or dysfunctional to the bureaucratic system.

Informal relationship may serve the function of providing a sense of security to individuals functioning in a formal impersonal organization. It may also act as a mechanism for the outlet of strains and anxieties—official and non-official—which

⁹See Alvin W. Gouldner, *Patterns of Industrial Bureaucracy*, Glencoe, Illinois : The Free Press, 1954.

Peter Blau, *Dynamics of Bureaucracy*, Chicago : The University of Chicago Press, 1955.

Roy G. Francis and Robert C. Stone, *Service and Procedure in Bureaucracy*, Minneapolis : The University of Minnesota Press, 1965.

T.L. Roethlisberger and W.J. Dickson, *Management and the Worker*, Cambridge : Harvard University Press, 1949.

Barnard, *op. cit.*

conditions for the development of certain informal behaviour patterns.³ It is a matter of general observation that people have relationships which are not part of or governed by any formal organization. There is a search for satisfactions that are not provided directly by the job satisfactions—such as companionship and protection.⁴ Such contacts and relationships take place without any conscious purpose and may be accidental or incidental to organized activities, or arise from some personal desire or gregarious instinct.⁵

The pattern of interaction and communication between bureaucrats is based on well-formulated and defined rules which are meant for realization of non-personal goals. However, personalized relationships which are not based or regulated by the official norms, develop within office. An organization cannot be understood merely by its charts and rules.⁶ In any formal organization there occur endless contacts that are unplanned and have no economic basis, but exist as a desire of people to associate with one another, to be congenial, and to exchange ideas.⁷ The present study does not undertake to examine the pattern of formal relationship with officials. Instead, all along emphasis has been laid on the analysis of pattern of informal relationship.

Social relationship, based on informal pattern of interaction, is inevitable in any formal organization. There are thus networks of personal and social relations which are not required by formal organization and develop spontaneously.⁸

Recent studies in bureaucracy have given adequate

³Wilbert E. Moore, *Industrial Relations and the Social Order*, New York : Macmillan, 1951, pp. 273-293.

⁴Sayles and Strauss, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

⁵Chester I. Barnard, *The Functions of Executive*, Cambridge : Harvard University Press, 1951, p. 114.

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 114.

⁷Robert Saltonstall, *Human Relations in Administration*, New York : McGraw Hill Co., Inc., 1959, p. 82.

⁸Davis Keith, *Human Relations in Business*, New York : McGraw Hill Book Co., 1957, p. 236.

Pattern of Interaction within Official Situation

Extent of Particularistic Interaction

The degree of particularistic interaction in a situation necessitating universalistic orientation reveals the extent of commitment of the officials to the bureaucratic norms. The office situation is structured for the fulfilment of non-personal organizational goals. Informal relationship involves three categories of bureaucratic hierarchy—colleagues, superiors, and subordinates. The informal relationship thus operates at two levels, between equals (horizontally), and between superiors and subordinates (vertically); and subsums all the three categories. The nature of particularistic interaction as it operates in the three categories has been analysed on the basis of the construction of a scale.¹⁰ In the present study, 47.8 per cent of the bureaucrats have high perception of particularistic interaction, while 52.2 per cent reveal low perception. There is no significant difference on the variables of hierarchy and specialism—chi square being : $\chi^2_1 = 3.19$, $P < 0.30$; and $\chi^2_1 = 0.34$, $P < 0.70$ respectively.

Nearly half the bureaucrats think that there is high particularistic interaction in bureaucratic functioning. There is a significant difference on the variable of bureaucratic type. Only 39.3 per cent of the bureaucrats in industry conceive

¹⁰The scale of particularistic interaction has been framed on the following questions (the reproducibility of the scale is .83) :

1. As far as you know, how frequent is it among your superior officers to get-together to discuss non-official matters during office hours ? Very Frequently/Frequently/Less Frequently/Least Frequently/Never. 2. As far as you know, how frequent is it among your colleagues to get-together to discuss non-official matters during office hours. 3. As far as you know, how frequent is it among your subordinates to meet and discuss non-official matters during office hours. 4. How often do superiors entrust personal work to the subordinates.

are inevitable in any formal work-situation. It serves the function of tension-management.

Attitudes and values, likes and dislikes, which are internalized in the long and continuous process of socialization, find their manifestation under the constraints and demands of bureaucratic rational norms and are expressed through the network of informal relationships. It is in the context of informal pattern of interaction that we are attempting to examine the following questions :

What is the nature and extent of the formation of informal relationship between bureaucrats? How does informal relationship affect the efficiency of bureaucratic system? To what extent do the relations between officials extend to non-official areas in social and personal life? At which level of bureaucratic hierarchy—upper, middle or lower—is the extent of such social relationship highest? Analysis of the above questions is being attempted by studying informal relationship in the following areas :

- (a) informal relationship within official situation;
- (b) informal relationship outside official situation but arising due to official contacts.

Informal relationship within office, as stated earlier, is inevitable. The nature of such relationship has been examined with reference to the following aspects :

- (1) extent of particularistic interaction of the bureaucrats;
- (2) informal relationship and efficiency;
- (3) nature of informal conversation.

Informal relationship outside office has been examined with reference to the following aspects :

- (1) nature and extent of social visits amongst bureaucrats;
- (2) participation in certain social-personal activities;
- (3) the circle of closest friends of the bureaucrats.

We now propose to discuss each of the aspects delineated above.

of the office cannot be used for personal purpose, unless so specified by the bosses. An upper bureaucrat in private bureaucracy remarked :

I can use telephone for long distance personal calls and use other official facilities for personal work, but this all is done with the knowledge of the bosses.

Another bureaucrat remarked :

I can spend on entertainment quite a big sum and that includes entertaining my personal friends and close relatives. It is all part of my work and well within the knowledge of directors.

Certain facilities for personal reasons can be made use of with the specific permission of superiors who grant this, keeping in view the services of the person to the organization and his involvement in the organizational goals. One cannot thus manoeuvre to obtain such benefits, as in public bureaucracy, but avail oneself of them with permission, given in lieu of the recognition of the services. Some officials in private bureaucracy work for hours, longer than specified by the rules, which shows their commitment to work not based strictly on formal grounds.

Informal discussions pertaining to non-official matters have higher frequency in the government. There is no personal supervision or mechanism to evaluate work and fix responsibility in public bureaucracy. Informal get-together in one's room around table, in corridors, in cafeterias was observed to be high. The cafeteria was found to be packed at all hours in the Secretariat. Taking officials at the lower level to tea, offering of cigarettes and betel by clients, was found to be a common feature. An upper rank public bureaucrat remarked :

I am busy in meeting people throughout the day in my office. All sort of persons come to meet. A colleague from district who has come to Jaipur likes to know all about what is happening regarding transfers, promotions and even scandals of other colleagues. Somebody walks in with recommendation for favour and this goes on. I have to ultimately take files at home to dispose them of.

that the particularistic interaction is high, compared to 55.7 per cent of the government bureaucrats who think so.

Table 4:1—Frequency of Particularistic Interaction and Type

Type	High	Low	Total
Public	167 (55.7)	133 (44.3)	300 (100.0)
Private	108 (39.3)	167 (60.7)	275 (100.0)
Total	275 (47.8)	300 (52.2)	575 (100.0)

$\chi^2_1 = 15.43 \quad P < 0.001$

Though there is greater particularism in private bureaucracy in terms of recruitment and placement and also greater deviance from the legal norms imposed by the Government in its functioning, the extent of particularistic interaction within official situation has been perceived to be low. Despite greater procedural informality in private bureaucracy which has been perceived to be helpful in achieving greater efficiency, the extent of particularistic interaction is low. Officials do not indulge in greater frequency to discuss non-official matters, nor do they entrust personal work to subordinates. There is greater personal supervision and under the structural and institutional pressures officials structurally and institutionally conform to organizational goals. Such norms of work are internalized by the bureaucrats in the process of their functioning. Though there is greater particularism in private bureaucracy in certain spheres, it does not affect its effective functioning. On the other hand in public bureaucracy high particularism is associated with attainment of personal gain. It takes the form of concealed deviance though legally high universalism characterises public bureaucratic system.

Contrary to public bureaucracy, in private bureaucracy certain behaviour which otherwise would be termed deviant is permissible with the knowledge and consent of the man at the top. For example, unlike public bureaucracy the facilities

take place and thereby adversely affect the fulfilment of policy goals.

Informal Relationship and Efficiency

The functionaries in bureaucracy are related to each other impersonally in terms of legal mechanisms that relate the employee to his organization.¹¹ There are no official demands made on the officers that they should participate in activities other than those relating to their job functions.¹² The pattern of informal relationship, however, facilitates the realization of official or personal goals through bureaucratic system.

Informal relationships, which are inevitable in any formal organization, operate at two levels in bureaucratic setting : (a) it may operate at a purely non-official level. Such relationships provide personal satisfaction, unless these are antagonistic; (b) informal relationships operate for realization of bureaucratic goals through means which are not part of bureaucratic procedures. Such informal functioning can have further two sets of goals : (1) the goal may be official and related to a particular department to which the official belongs, (2) the goal may be related to personal work or work of a person or persons with whom the official is particularistically involved, and the process through which such work is to be accomplished.

Informal Relationship and Official Work

In the first case, that is, when the goal is that of organization, the bureaucrats do not get things done through normal official and procedural means, but by using personal contacts and approach. This becomes necessary as the bureaucrat, with a view to ensuring efficiency, adopts

¹¹Francis and Stone, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

¹²*Ibid.*, p. 104.

The general work atmosphere in public bureaucracy is such that officials do not strictly adhere to the norm of work completion in time. This facilitates higher particularistic interaction amongst them. A common complaint in the public bureaucracy was that officials are not found on their seats. Even high officials were reported to be late-comers after lunch break, which necessitated issuing of circular to them, to mend their habit. A senior IAS officer made some interesting observations about a collector in a district of Rajasthan :

The collector comes late to the office. After all he is the supreme boss there. He looks to some files, calls for some people and talks about general things. Then it is time for lunch. He returns late probably after a good nap. There is a visitor waiting from Jaipur. They talk politics. And it is time to go to the club, where quite a few sychophants are waiting for him.

Most of the high bureaucrats were reported to be in the habit of entrusting personal work to chosen subordinates. The nature of such work differs depending upon the officer's own style of life, demands, and family composition. According to a bureaucrat :

It could be bringing the ration, getting money from bank, searching house for a new official, bringing certain articles from visit to other places, help in making arrangements for wedding and such other jobs. The nature of work entrusted depends on the rank and hierarchy of subordinates.

The extent of particularistic interaction which operates in bureaucracy determines the nature and extent of deviance from rational norms. In no situation, howsoever rationally structured, is it possible to regulate human relationships in an entirely rational manner. Yet the extent and nature of particularistic interaction influences the efficiency and morale of bureaucrats and consequently builds a particular type of public image.

In the government, such particularistic interaction is the result of structural forces which permit such interactions to

This shows that a characteristic which is contrary to Weberian ideal-typical formulation can help in maximization of efficiency. This further asserts the limitations of 'formalistic impersonality' as a rational characteristic of bureaucracy. Informality of a particular type is thus conceived to be functional. The public bureaucracy in India, under strain and emergency, is known to have accomplished targets efficiently and quickly. This happens through informal channels.

Informality operates at all levels of bureaucratic hierarchy but it operates more effectively at higher and middle levels. At lower level also informality was reported to be high, but its effectiveness remains uncertain because for ultimate decisions papers are sent to the higher ups. The nature and extent of help which the lower bureaucrats can render is also limited in scope. In some sections and departments, where higher officials were not competent, they relied on the lower bureaucrats or competent lower bureaucrats were relied upon even by competent higher officials. In many cases, the long and continuous posting of lower bureaucrats in a particular position and department enabled them to know more about work and its intricacies. The lower bureaucrats were considered to be more rule-minded and they desired and anticipated informal intervention to expedite matters. This has been a compensatory mechanism to enhance their ego in the context of status and power deprivations.

There is no significant difference on the basis of the variables of specialism and type. The chi-square being : $\chi^2_1 = 1.80$ $P < 0.20$ and $\chi^2_1 = 5.32$ $P < 0.10$ respectively.

Informal Relationship and Personal Work

Informal relationship also operates when a personal task needs to be accomplished through bureaucratic system. This is a widespread phenomenon in public bureaucracy. Matters related to the issue of pay-slip, sanction of loan, allotment of

informal means to expedite the decision for his department. It was reported that certain officials were adept in getting things accomplished through informal ways. They were aware of the structural limitations of bureaucratic functioning. Informal relations thus become functional in such bureaucratic settings which are under severe constraints to work within a rigid framework of rules. Informality cuts across long

Table 4:2—Informal Relationship and Efficiency

<i>Hierarchy</i>	<i>Improves efficiency</i>	<i>Deteriorates efficiency</i>	<i>Does not affect</i>	<i>Total</i>
Upper	119 (68.0)	19 (10.9)	37 (21.1)	175 (100.0)
Middle	141 (70.5)	19 (9.5)	40 (20.0)	200 (100.0)
Lower	107 (53.5)	47 (23.5)	46 (23.0)	200 (100.0)
Total	367 (63.8)	85 (14.8)	123 (21.4)	575 (100.0)

$$\chi^2 = 21.52 \quad P < 0.001$$

procedural delays. Meetings and discussions based on personal acquaintance were reported to help in expediting both official and personal matters. Apart from procedural complications resulting in delay, sometimes delay may be purposive, whereby a bureaucrat habitually neglects work or derives sadistic pleasure from it.

In the present study, 63.8 per cent of the bureaucrats believe that informal relationship improves efficiency, 14.8 per cent think that it decreases it, while 21.4 per cent think that it does not affect.¹² It is significant to note that 63.8 per cent of the bureaucrats believe that informal relations lead to efficiency.

¹²The question runs: How do the informal relations of employees among themselves influence the efficiency of work within the administrative units? Please tick one of the following:

- (a) Improve efficiency.
- (b) Deteriorate efficiency.
- (c) Do not affect.

in nature. Subordinates work for bosses, for personal work—typing personal letters, going to income-tax department to settle the tax return, going to bank, etc. This is basically due to the superior position of the boss who has the potentiality to harm or help his subordinate. In some cases it might lead to neglect of official work, and in some other exploitation of the subordinates by superiors. Such help may also exist between two equals on the basis of reciprocity. Extending help and assistance informally was observed to be a matter of temperament with some bureaucrats. Such officials were reported to be both helpful and informal to all.

In these cases the efficiency of the bureaucracy is not adversely affected but personalized help on the basis of informal relationship is given and obtained. The need for the use of informal relationship arises due to procedural complications and delay which is common in public bureaucracy in India. The high particularism in social relationships accentuates the process of informalization in bureaucratic functioning. Ralph Turner observes that actual administration widely deviates from impersonality because of the inadequacies of procedural pattern and pressures of informal structure.¹⁴

Charles Page has considered the significance of the functions of informal organization in negation of the effects of formal organization. He thinks that intense impersonality of the official bureaucracy is matched in intensity by the personal character unofficially found within it.¹⁵

The influence of social structure and culture on the informal relationship in bureaucracy is, thus, likely to be of great significance sociologically. Bureaucracy in Indian society, which has a traditional heritage of particularism, is bound to experience certain stresses and strains in the wake of recent and growing emphasis on the universalistic criterion

¹⁴Ralph Turner, "The Navy Disbursing Officer as Bureaucrat", in Robert K. Merton et al. (eds.), *Reader in Bureaucracy*, Illinois: The Free Press, 1960, p. 372.

¹⁵Charles Hunt Page, "Bureaucracy's Other Face", *Social Forces*, October, 1946, p. 91.

house, allotment of car or scooter in government quota, are expedited and effectively finalized through informal relationships. It has been observed that on the basis of informal relationships efficiency increases and decisions are taken without delay. Therefore, increased efforts are made by clients and bureaucrats to use informal relationship in getting things done.

Those who are not officials try to form informal relationships with them in public bureaucracy on the basis of acquaintance, friendship, kinship, and on regional and communal identities. Public men are affected significantly by the bureaucratic organization which tends to influence almost every aspect of their life. Informal relationship tends to help a person in getting admission for his children in school, in getting proper and immediate care by doctors in hospitals, in quick payment of outstanding bills by government, in getting jobs, permits and licences. It also helps in evasion of tax, and in shelving and hushing up minor or major cases against public defaulters.

By personal informal approach certain channels are either bypassed or quickly got over so that papers move up quickly. Such people who do not know anyone in a bureaucratic organization try to locate someone through whom links with officials in an organization can be established. This explains the large number of recommendations based on particularistic ground which are received by people who have to make decisions in bureaucracy.

Such people are approached, as stated earlier, on the basis of caste, community, region, religion, friendship, kinship and even on professional identity. These channels are based on particularism and are in contradiction to bureaucratic ideal-typical norms. In a society where social relations are based on high particularism and where expectations of social and personal obligations towards people related through such ties are strong informal ways frequently penetrate procedure-oriented bureaucracy.

Another aspect of informal relationship relates to the discharge of such functions by bureaucrats which are personal

largely based on seniority. A high sense of security of job in government induces officials to deviate in ways such as neglect of work, indulgence in conversation not related to official work, etc. The tolerance of such deviance has been observed to be high.

The pattern of seating arrangement also influences the extent and frequency of informal conversation. It was interesting to find that in two industrial concerns the seats were so arranged that an extra chair could not be offered to a colleague or a visitor. There was no space to put an extra chair. One had to be brief and talk standing. The chambers for the higher officers were so erected on the sides of the hall, where a large number of officials had their seats, that while entering their rooms or coming out officers could throw a glance on the officials sitting in the hall and observe as to what was going on. Such an arrangement has been functional since it helps in the avoidance of unnecessary interaction between officials or between officials and visitors.

In large and small offices certain meeting places were observed. It was common to find visitors coming to meet friends and acquaintances in government offices for either personal work or to extend a courtesy call. It was normally possible for the government official to take time off to meet such persons and be with them during office time. Canteens, betel shops, and other meeting places facilitated such an informality.

Table 4:3—Nature of Conversation among Bureaucrats

<i>Nature of conversation</i>	<i>First priority responses</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Concerning administration (C.A.)	326	56.7
Concerning political situation (C.P.S.)	79	13.7
Concerning leisure and recreation (C.L.R.)	23	4.0
Concerning personal anxiety (C.P.A.)	130	22.6
No response (N.R.)	17	3.0
Total	575	100.0

which can be mitigated partly by operation of informal relationship.

Nature of Informal Conversation between Office People

Another aspect of the pattern of the interaction relates to the nature of informal conversation between office people. Conversation in office can take place at two levels : (a) formal—necessary for purely official purpose, (b) informal—for personal reasons. The simplest form of doing something together is conversation.¹⁶ It is normal verbal reaction of individuals in all human groupings. The phenomenon of conversation has certain dimensions which are sociologically relevant. The formulation of these could be : (1) Nature of conversation reveals certain aspects of informality of human relationships. (2) It is possible to know the quality of relationship between people by what they talk. (3) It helps in establishing social and emotional bonds and has cathectic and cognitive functions. (4) It reveals the nature of issues in which the group is involved. (5) Beyond a limit, frequency of informal conversation can be dysfunctional to bureaucracy. The extent and frequency of such conversation is regulated and facilitated by a number of factors : (a) institutional tolerance of such informal conversation; (b) the pattern of seating arrangements in office; (c) availability of such places where informal conversation is facilitated viz., canteen, betel shop etc., near or within the office. Such places, even when they are not part of the office, by their influence on bureaucracy may be included in the boundary of inclusion of a bureaucratic organization.

In public bureaucracy there is greater institutional tolerance of such informal conversation. There is lack of personalized supervision. Promotion which is related to career benefit is

¹⁶Barnard, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

matters were reported to be discussed most amongst colleagues. In this connection it is significant to observe that the highest number of close friends of bureaucrats belong to the category of colleague. Illnesses in family, long distance transfers and their consequences, difficulties of managing home with a limited income, failures of children in examination, difficulties in obtaining admission for children, unemployment of their sons, problems of marriage of their daughters etc., were reported to be the factors related to personal anxiety.

Conversation regarding political situation ranks third. Bureaucrats have shown greater political awareness. Since the government employees do not have freedom to criticize the government and its working publicly, they talk about it informally with fellow officials. It was common to find bureaucrats discussing current political situations and to have opinions on important issues. International situations were reported to have been discussed occasionally depending on their magnitude. National issues were discussed more frequently. Bureaucrats talked frequently about State politics. The Chief Minister figured frequently in their talk. A bureaucrat remarked :

He is the single person in the entire State, from any walk of life, who has been talked the most.

The Chief Minister has a positive public image according to the respondents. His image is that of a popular and considerate politician. Because of his long and uninterrupted continuity in office his experience is greater than many of the bureaucrats.¹⁸

Leisure and recreation figure at a very low level of the total conversation. Spare time activities vary from bureaucrat to bureaucrat. Bureaucrats do have free time but the pattern of its meaningful utilization has not yet been institutionalized. The routine is unsystematic and lacks any organized pattern. Recreation is both expensive and out of the context of the

¹⁸Mr. Mohanlal Sukhadia has been the Chief Minister of Rajasthan since 1954. This is the longest term held by any of the Chief Ministers in India. However since we made this study Mr. Sukhadia has resigned.

Telephones in government offices have been used quite frequently for private conversation. Government has put certain procedural restrictions on the use of telephones at home, to check its misuse.

The responses to the nature of conversation have been categorized as under :¹⁷ (1) concerning administration, (2) concerning political situation, (3) concerning leisure and recreation, (4) concerning personal anxiety.

The most frequent conversation is about administration itself which reveals that administrators talk shop a great deal. This reflects the dominance of work situation and its general pervasive impact on life. Naturally, this becomes the main area of even informal conversation. It has been observed that officials, even when they meet outside the office in non-official situations, talk about matters which pertain to office. An IAS officer remarked :

Even the high bureaucrats generally talk about routine and petty official matters.

The talks revolve around transfers, promotions, retirement age, postings, and similar administrative matters. Such talks are oriented to those aspects which have personal consequences and are not generally related to realization and effectiveness of administrative goals. Occasionally matters related to administrative delays, red-tapism, corruption etc., are also dealt but here also the focus is on certain persons.

Conversation regarding personal matters and anxieties ranks second. Discussions regarding matters related to economic, family, and personal problems and anxieties, depended on the extent of closeness between different bureaucrats. Personal

¹⁷The question regarding nature of conversation was framed as under :
What types of conversations do generally follow when you talk informally with your office people ? Please put 1, 2, 3 in order of priority :
(a) Transfers and promotions, (b) D A and salary, (c) Movies, games, sports, (d) National politics, (e) Rising prices and economic hardships, (f) Family and personal matters, (g) International situation, (h) Departmental affairs, (i) Any other : please specify.

nations cannot afford such recreation. Naturally, conversation in regard to recreation and leisure has such a low percentage.

Table 4 : 4—Nature of Conversation and Specialization*

<i>Specialization</i>	<i>C.A.</i>	<i>C.P.S.</i>	<i>C.L.R.</i>	<i>C.P.A.</i>	<i>N.R.</i>	<i>Total</i>
Non-technical	137 (49.8)	44 (16.0)	6 (2.2)	79 (28.7)	9 (3.3)	275 (100.0)
Technical	189 (63.0)	35 (11.7)	17 (5.7)	51 (17.0)	8 (2.7)	300 (100.0)

$$\text{Chi}_3^2 = 19.23 \text{ } P < 0.001$$

*Excluding no response.

There is no significant relationship on the variables of hierarchy and type of bureaucracy. The chi-square being $\text{Chi}_4^2 = 5.06 \text{ } P < 0.70$ and $\text{Chi}_3^2 = 4.25 \text{ } P < 0.30$, respectively. Between the technical and non-technical categories, the difference is significant.

Technical personnel talk more about administrative matters and talk less about personal anxiety. This may imply their greater commitment to work as well as higher concern about administrative functioning.

Private bureaucrats comparatively talk more about matters related to leisure and recreation. They are members of various associations and clubs. Such memberships help them in establishing contacts which are useful for business purposes. It also provides certain prestige to them. This acts as a compensatory mechanism for their power-deprivation which is low compared to public bureaucrats.

The fact that conversation regarding administration is most frequent reveals its dominant influence in the life of bureaucrats. Most of the facets of life are determined by one's career, hence the predominance of informal conversation pertaining to administrative matters.

cultural milieu in which the common man lives. Remarks of a middle rank bureaucrat in this connection are significant :

It is not possible for middle and lower categories of bureaucrats to spend money in picnics, sports, movies and such other recreational activities. Week-end, if at all, is a concept with the higher bureaucrats who can afford a car, have furnished home with decent amenities, whose wives are educated, and there is enough money to spend.

A lower level bureaucrat in the Secretariat remarked :

I feel much better when I am in the office. Summers are very hot and the timings in the Secretariat are from 10 A.M. to 5 P.M. It has a fine cooling arrangement through constant trickling of water on the Khas Tattis—a luxury which the office babu cannot afford at his home.

The idea of making good or effective use of leisure seems not to be well developed among many bureaucrats. It may be illustrated by the fact that after his visit to the United States of America, one of the former Chief Ministers introduced five days a week work for the government employees in Rajasthan. However, the working hours were increased and were fixed from 9 A.M. to 5 P.M. with half an hour's break in between. Talking about the consequences of this change, a lower rank bureaucrat remarked :

Making purchases, going to hospital and doing such other odd jobs in the morning were disturbed as one had to start early for the office. Two days of continuous holidays, every week, became a problem. A day of holiday passes alright, but the next is difficult. One goes from one room to another—to the kitchen and starts interfering in wife's domain of work. This then leads to arguments and quarrels with wife.

There is no systematic recreation available to a large number of bureaucrats, though industrial bureaucrats are members of various clubs and associations. Rotary Club and Lions Club have attracted members from private bureaucracy. The number of public bureaucrats is very low in these clubs. However, at smaller district headquarters recreational clubs having membership of various officers of the district, were reported to have functioned more effectively. Sophisticated recreation is a concept of western affluent society. Non-affluent

Table 4 : 5—Social Visits to Superiors, Subordinates and Colleagues²⁰

Rank of those who are visited	Frequency of social visit		Total	Relationship with variables		
	Frequently	Less frequently		Hierarchy	Specialization	Type
Superiors	71 (12.3)	409 (71.1)	575 (99.9)	Significant $\chi^2 = 40.32$ $P < .001$	Significant $\chi^2 = 12.60$ $P < .01$	Not significant $\chi^2 = 2.36$ $P < 0.50$
Subordinates	113 (19.8)	371 (64.4)	575 (100.0)	Significant $\chi^2 = 16.39$ $P < .01$	Not significant $\chi^2 = 2.30$ $P < 0.50$	Not significant $\chi^2 = 5.07$ $P < 0.10$
Colleagues	360 (62.6)	204 (35.5)	575 (100.0)	Not significant $\chi^2 = 7.03$ $P < .20$	Significant $\chi^2 = 16.06$ $P < 0.001$	Not significant $\chi^2 = 5.74$ $P < 0.10$

²⁰The question regarding social visit has been framed as under :
How often do you pay social visit to the following ?

Frequently Less frequently Never

Superiors
Colleagues
Subordinates

(Detailed tables are given in Appendix, Chapter IV)

Pattern of Interaction Outside the Official Situations

Working continuously for years in bureaucratic organizations tends to develop bonds of companionship.¹⁹ Social relationships which arise out of functioning together in bureaucratic organizations extend beyond official milieu.

In the present study the pattern of interaction outside office has been examined with reference to the following three situations :

- (a) nature and extent of social visits,
- (b) the circle of closest friends, and
- (c) participation in certain social personal activities.

Nature and Extent of Social Visits

The motivation of social visits to superiors, colleagues, and subordinates is influenced by various factors. It may be due to official unwritten norms which have been institutionalized by repeated practice. For example to call upon a new boss or colleague who has just joined or one who is about to leave because of transfer, promotion, change of job or retirement is an accepted mode of social visit. It has subtle official overtones. Social visits can be the outcome of a desire for participation between office people who have mutual personal liking. In such social visits there are no official compulsions. Social visits are further motivated by internal compulsions to obtain undue favour by establishing personalities informally.

Paying social visits to people who come into contact in official situation is a phenomenon which extends beyond the

¹⁹Blau, *op. cit.*, p 110.

have the highest responses from the lower bureaucrats, followed by middle and high bureaucrats. The pattern of response shows while there may be some lower bureaucrats who call upon superiors very frequently yet there are others who never visit their high officials.

In a status ridden society, where so far caste has determined the pattern of interaction, the new class, based on achieved status, is not oriented to equalitarian mode of interpersonal relationships. It appears that though the value of democracy has been by and large accepted and internalized, the value of equality has not been accepted. The office situation reflects the most rigid stratified sub-system in India. This also reflects the general social and cultural ethos in regard to social inequality in India.

It is interesting to note that only such subordinates were encouraged to call upon superiors who had assisted them in personal-familial matters. Only lower bureaucrats were reported to call upon their bosses for the performance of such work. Upper level bureaucrats do not perform such acts for their superiors because of their own high status. There is little status-gap between upper bureaucrats and their superiors. Upper bureaucrats may still go up or even higher than their present superiors.

Table 4 : 7—Social Visits to Superiors by Technical and Non-technical Staff

<i>Specialization</i>	<i>Frequently</i>	<i>Less frequently</i>	<i>Never</i>	<i>Total</i>
Non-technical	39 (14.2)	177 (64.4)	59 (21.4)	275 (100.0)
Technical	32 (10.7)	232 (77.3)	36 (12.0)	300 (100.0)
$\chi^2 = 12.58 \quad P < 0.01$				

ideal-typical characteristic of formalistic impersonality. It is an aspect not connected with bureaucracy, yet arises from it. Social visits can possibly be extended to friends and acquaintances, relatives, neighbours and such officials with whom one works. We are concerned here with social calls on such officials with whom one is associated in official capacity.

The extent of making frequent social calls on superiors is the lowest. Not all superiors are easily available for social visits. Higher status makes them self-conscious and they restrict their interaction with those who are low in hierarchy. Official position substantially influences social status as well. Formation of closer relationship and high interaction is possible between equals who have similar social status. This explains high frequency of social visits between colleagues who are equals and low frequency of social visits to subordinates. Superiors do not pay social visits to subordinates as they do not encourage subordinates to make frequent social calls on them.

Social Visits to Superiors

Table 4 : 6—Extent of Social Visits to Superiors

<i>Hierarchy</i>	<i>Most frequently</i>	<i>Less frequently</i>	<i>Never</i>	<i>Total</i>
Upper	14 (8.0)	151 (86.3)	10 (5.7)	175 (100.0)
Middle	27 (13.5)	142 (71.0)	31 (15.5)	200 (100.0)
Lower	30 (15.0)	116 (58.0)	54 (27.0)	200 (100.0)
Total	71 (12.3)	409 (71.1)	95 (16.5)	575 (99.9)

$$\chi^2_4 = 40.32 \quad P < 0.001$$

Low frequency is high amongst all categories who pay social visits to superiors. 'Frequently' and 'never' categories

with their subordinates, hence greater interaction operates between them. It is interesting to note that while upper bureaucrats do not call upon their superiors as they think that social and official distance between them is marginal, the lower bureaucrats who also feel the same for their subordinates have greater interaction with them. This suggests that upper level as a social category tends to be more reserved, likes privacy and non-interference, and has greater social isolation. This may happen due to high status consciousness, sense of security and enlarged ego of the upper bureaucrats. There is no significant relationship with the variables of specialization and type.

Social Visits to Colleagues

The frequency of social visits is highest among colleagues. Of the bureaucrats studied 62.6 per cent have said that they pay social visits very frequently, 35.5 per cent moderately and only 1.9 per cent do not pay any social visit. Social visits tend to become frequent between people of equal status in society. Due to similar social status and official rank colleagues are psychologically more acceptable for exchange of social visits. Their relationship is characterized by greater freedom and open mixing. The pattern and mode of interaction tends to

Table 4 : 9—Extent of Social Visits to Colleagues and Specialization

<i>Specialization</i>	<i>Frequently</i>	<i>Less frequently</i>	<i>Never</i>	<i>Total</i>
Non-technical	151 (54.9)	115 (41.8)	9 (3.3)	275 (100.0)
Technical	209 (69.7)	89 (29.7)	2 (0.7)	300 (100.0)
Total	360 (62.6)	204 (35.5)	11 (1.9)	575 (100.0)

$$\chi^2_1 = 16.06 \quad P < 0.001$$

Frequency of Social Visits to Superiors and Specialization

The non-technical functionaries have high percentage of responses of social call in the 'high' as well as 'never' category. The technical bureaucrats have highest percentage in the low category.

Social Visits to Subordinates

**Table 4 : 8—Extent of Social Visits to Subordinates
and Hierarchy**

<i>Hierarchy</i>	<i>Frequently</i>	<i>Less frequently</i>	<i>Never</i>	<i>Total</i>
Upper	23 (13.1)	122 (69.7)	30 (17.1)	175 (99.9)
Middle	33 (16.5)	134 (67.0)	33 (16.5)	200 (100.0)
Lower	57 (28.5)	115 (57.5)	28 (14.0)	200 (100.0)
Total	113 (19.7)	371 (64.5)	91 (15.8)	575 (100.0)

$$\chi^2 = 15.88 \quad P < .01$$

A greater number of bureaucrats in the upper category of officials pay social visits to their subordinates less frequently. It is only on certain special occasions like marriage, death, or on being specially invited, that the upper bureaucrats visit officials of the lower category. However, as one is placed lower in official hierarchy he interacts more with his subordinate and makes greater social calls on him. Lower bureaucrats feel lesser material and psychological difference

relation to participation by bureaucrats.²¹

Table 4 : 10—Participation in Various Activities by Bureaucrats with Superiors, Colleagues and Subordinates

	<i>Going to cinema</i>	<i>Lending money</i>	<i>Borrowing money</i>	<i>Inviting to a party</i>	<i>Lending personal conveyance</i>
Superiors	0.64	0.27	0.23	1.42	0.70
Colleagues	2.00	1.19	0.97	2.42	1.63
Subordinates	0.74	0.90	0.29	1.45	1.04

Going to the Cinema

Going to the cinema is the highest at colleague level, lesser with subordinates and least with superiors. This activity has higher public visibility as one is exposed to public gaze. It necessitates informality and absence of any formalized status consciousness.

Lending and Borrowing Money

So far as activities of lending and borrowing money are concerned, a certain amount of secrecy is involved. Since secrecy is involved in the process of borrowing and lending money these activities can take place only if relations between officials become more personal. In a few cases it was reported that money was borrowed even from people with whom there was little acquaintance. Such persons were characterized as

²¹The question on participation in activities has been framed as under : How often do you participate in the following activities with your superiors/colleagues/subordinates ? Please tick mark (✓). 1. Going to cinema. 2. Lending money. 3. Borrowing money. 4. Inviting to a party. 5. Lending personal conveyance. The following value was assigned to each type of response : 4 very frequently, 3 frequently, 2 less frequently, 1 least frequently, 0 never.

be more facile and easy between colleagues as they are not under any status strains.

Technical bureaucrats have greater frequency of social visits to colleagues. The arduous nature of their work largely related to machine induces a desire in them to seek human company for release of work-tension and for personal satisfaction. The technical bureaucrats are reported to have greater zest for living and have been found to enjoy the lighter side of life in greater degree.

There is no significant relationship on the basis of variables of hierarchy and type.

Participation in Certain Social and Personal Activities

To speak of social life is to speak of association between people—their associating together in certain activities of life.²¹ Such social associations may be intrinsically rewarding which implies that it is not what they do together but their doing together is satisfying.²² The relations may be extrinsically rewarding which suggests some benefit which accrues from such association.

Constant working together leads to certain other forms of interaction among officials which are of a personal nature. In the present study we have examined the participation of the bureaucrats in the following five activities : (a) going to cinema, (b) lending money, (c) borrowing money, (d) inviting to a party, (e) lending personal conveyance.

Social behaviour is thought to be guided by consideration of exchange.²³ We are examining below each activity in

²¹Peter Blau, *Exchange and Power in Social Life*, New York : John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1964, p. 12.

²²*Ibid*, p. 15.

²³See *ibid*, and George C. Homans, *Social Behaviour*, New York : Harcourt, Brace and World, 1961.

Lending Personal Conveyance

Personal conveyance is lent most to colleagues, followed by subordinates and superiors. Industrial houses often lend conveyance to important government bureaucrats for their personal use. One industrial bureaucrat remarked :

We have kept aside one car for the use of income-tax, sales-tax and other officers. We pay the petrol and other expenses. Of course this helps us a lot in getting many things done through them.

There is greater resistance to lending personal cars to others. A bureaucrat remarked :

I have to make excuses like the driver is not available or the vehicle is not in order when people ask for my car.

However, when the vehicle is not personal but official its use is more frequent for personal purposes (as reported elsewhere in the book). In the districts specially, officials of similar rank but belonging to different departments oblige each other by making available the vehicle of the department for personal purposes.²⁵

Some of the other findings related to participation in these various activities and variables are as under :

1. The participation in these activities is greatest with colleagues compared to superiors. The participation tends to be higher with the subordinates.

2. Lower bureaucrats have comparatively higher frequency of participation in these activities.

3. Participation in different activities at the colleague level is higher amongst technical bureaucrats, compared to the non-technical category.

4. Activities of borrowing and lending money are comparatively lower amongst upper bureaucrats in their relationship with superiors, subordinates as well as colleagues.

²⁵Many other realms of activities were reported by the bureaucrats. Subordinates were reported to help the higher officers in making arrangement for wedding etc. Subordinates were reported to have searched suitable house for their bosses on their new posting, arrange for household goods and other similar activities.

habitual borrowers. Borrowing and lending money is more frequent with colleagues followed by subordinates and superiors. Borrowing money' is an activity which has lowest frequency. The activity of lending money, compared to the activity of borrowing money, has a higher frequency.

Lending of big amounts of money is a rarity and depends on affective ties of friendship or kinship. In a traditional society, in the absence of any institutionalized formal programme of social security, needs of personal and financial security have often been fulfilled through familial ties. The facilities for monetary loans through institutional sources have significantly multiplied in the last few decades. Loans are available for construction of houses, purchase of cars, and such other requirements, from employers, Life Insurance Corporation and, lately, nationalized banks. This has reduced the need for borrowing from personal sources which has potentiality of deteriorating relations.

Inviting to a Party

Inviting to a party is the most frequent activity amongst all levels of bureaucrats. It is the highest with colleagues, followed by subordinates and superiors. Generally people having similar status are invited to personal parties. Superiors or subordinates may be invited on specific occasions, for example, when they go on transfer or get a promotion. Bureaucrats throw parties for various reasons. The motivation for throwing a party may be purely that of relaxation and personal satisfaction. Such parties are thrown due to personal relationship between officials and are not means to an end. There are parties which are given as a means to attain certain immediate or remote ends. Organizational parties given by industrial concerns to ministers, high bureaucrats, and visiting dignitaries are oriented to keep contact with meaningful persons with a view to getting some ulterior benefits. On the other hand parties are ritually thrown to welcome and bid farewell to officials.

<i>Category</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
1. Colleagues	259	45.0
2. Engineers	97	16.9
3. Business executives	62	10.8
4. Businessmen	40	7.0
5. Doctors	35	6.1
6. Teachers	18	3.1
7. Professors	15	2.6
8. Lawyers	13	2.3
9. Poets and artists	7	1.2
10. Politicians	4	0.7
11. Journalists	3	0.5
12. Any other	10	1.7
13. No response	12	2.1
	<hr/> 575 <hr/>	<hr/> 100.0 <hr/>

The largest number of friends come from the category of colleagues. These data are significant because if an impersonal and rationally ordained system in its actual functioning tends to provide a basis for choosing close friends, there would be particularistic consideration in making decisions and a desire to mutually help each other.

The impact of closer friendship with colleagues on bureaucratic functioning could be two-fold. Such relationship, due to its personal and informal nature, can lead to quicker decisions and greater efficiency in work. It can also lead to deviation from set goals of bureaucracy, when such a relationship is made an instrument for personal gain. When the circle of friendship is extensively high with colleagues, potentiality for above consequences increases manifold.

Engineers have been occupying high social status in the society for the past decade or so. Numerically also this category has expanded due to rapid industrial expansion. These people belong to younger age group. Business executives were reported to be more friendly as they revealed greater ability and flexibility in getting along with people of different strata in society. Businessmen were reported to be more amiable and less arrogant as these traits of temperament are considered helpful in carrying the business. Illness being

The highest frequency of these activities operates at the colleague level which indicates the equalitarian basis for the formation of social relationships. High status consciousness based on rank and hierarchy in bureaucracy significantly influences the pattern of social relationships. This explains low participation in various activities with subordinates as well as superiors.

Closest Circle of Friends of Bureaucrats

Friendship is universal phenomenon based on cathexis. The question of choice of friend is important as it reveals the category from which one selects one's friends. Some of the questions discussed below have been posed to find out the broader and relevant dimensions of the choice of friends amongst bureaucrats. The questions are: Are friends chosen from the same profession? Are they chosen from same office or do people avoid friendships from those with whom they have to work for the performance of official tasks? Is it based on similarity of rank? Are there certain professional groups from amongst whom friends are preferred? How does selection of friends from a particular group affect the functioning of bureaucracy?

The following is the rank order of various categories from whom closest friends have been chosen :²⁶

²⁶The respondents were asked the following question :

From which of the following categories do you have your closest circle of friends? Please tick mark (✓) three in order of priority 1, 2, 3.

1. Government officers/business executives. 2. Businessmen. 3. Colleagues. 4. Doctors. 5. Engineers. 6. Journalists. 7. Lawyers. 8. Poets and Artists. 9. Politicians. 10. Professors. 11. Teachers. 12. Any other, please specify.

Table 4:11—Closest Circle of Friends and Specialization

<i>Special- ization</i>	<i>Busi- ness execu- tive</i>	<i>Busi- ness- men</i>	<i>Colle- gues</i>	<i>Doctors</i>	<i>Engi- neers</i>	<i>Others</i>	<i>NR.</i>	<i>Total</i>
Non- technical	37 (13.4)	32 (11.6)	129 (46.9)	11 (4.0)	9 (3.3)	47 (17.1)	10 (3.6)	275 (99.9)
Technical	25 (8.3)	8 (2.7)	130 (43.3)	24 (8.0)	88 (29.3)	23 (7.7)	2 (0.7)	300 (100.0)

The above figures lead to the following observations :

- (1) close friends are chosen from amongst colleagues, in both the categories,
- (2) technical bureaucrats have greater number of friends from amongst engineers,
- (3) non-technical bureaucrats have greater number of friends from amongst business executives and businessmen.

This shows that there is a tendency to choose friends from like interest groups and similar professional background.

Table 4 : 12—Closest Circle of Friends and Type

<i>Type</i>	<i>Busi- ness execu- tive</i>	<i>Busi- ness- men</i>	<i>Colle- gues</i>	<i>Doctors</i>	<i>Engi- neers</i>	<i>Others</i>	<i>NR.</i>	<i>Total</i>
Public	12 (4.0)	17 (5.7)	159 (53.0)	24 (8.0)	30 (10.0)	50 (16.7)	8 (2.7)	300 (100.1)
Private	50 (18.2)	23 (8.4)	100 (36.4)	11 (4.0)	67 (24.4)	20 (7.3)	4 (1.4)	275 (100.1)

The above figures lead to the following observations :

- (1) industrial bureaucrats have greater number of friends from business executives and businessmen,
- (2) public bureaucrats have greater number of friends from amongst their colleagues,
- (3) private bureaucrats have greater number of friends from amongst the engineers.

The relationship with colleagues in private bureaucracy was reported to be less satisfactory. In the private bureaucracy officials at colleague-level aspire for promotion since it is not based on seniority. This leads to concealed rivalries and

a contingent role, the need for the help of a doctor is felt by all irrespective of social or official status. Any one can fall sick irrespective of his social position. The importance of the doctor's role motivates people to seek friendship with them.

Friendship with teachers, professors, lawyers, poets, artists and journalists cannot be materially rewarding. It can be rewarding only intellectually. The aspiration for intellectual satisfaction is, however, not common. This explains the lesser number of bureaucrats choosing friends from this category.

Only a few bureaucrats have politicians as their friends. Though politicians possess power and influence their status is fluid. Their circle of acquaintance is so large that commitment to friendship as a value is alien to them. People have become dubious about their sincerity and promises. They are thus sought after for favour only in specific cases. The relationship of friendship is established with such categories of occupation and profession which have high social esteem, with such people who can be helpful, and largely with officials of similar rank who come into frequent contact in official situation.²⁷

²⁷The rank order, by combining all the three priorities, is as under (The first priority choices were multiplied by 3; second priority choices by 2; and third priority choices by 1):

<i>Category</i>	<i>Score</i>	<i>Ranking</i>
1. Colleagues	999	I
2. Engineers	531	II
3. Businessmen	386	III
4. Business executives	343	IV(a)
5. Doctors	343	IV(b)
6. Teachers	185	V
7. Professors	146	VI
8. Lawyers	123	VII
9. Politicians	66	VIII
10. Poets and artists	63	IX
11. Journalists	26	X
12. Others	62	—
13. No response	177	—
	<hr/> 3450	

The combined order is similar to the first preference rank order.

efficiency of bureaucracy, since bureaucrats indulge in non-official activities during office hours.

Though particularistic interaction can lead to inefficiency, informal relationships have been largely perceived to increase inefficiency. This shows operational limitations of the ideal-typical characteristic of formalistic impersonality of bureaucracy. Many tasks are accomplished in public bureaucracy on the basis of informal relationships. Such relations become effective since procedural complications and delay are common in public bureaucracy in India.

Informal conversation related to varied topics is quite frequent in official situation. There is greater tolerance of such subtle deviance from bureaucratic norms in the public bureaucracy. Conversation related to administrative matters is highest, followed by personal anxiety, political situation and recreation. Officials tend to talk most about business matters. Informal pattern of interaction is high in the office situation. Such informality was reported to be highest amongst colleagues. Working continuously for years in bureaucratic organization tends to develop bonds of companionship which extend beyond official milieu.

Social visits have been reported to be the highest at the colleague level. Occasional social visits are more frequent amongst all the bureaucrats compared to highly frequent visits and non-visits. A limited number of bureaucrats call upon their superiors more frequently and an equal number of bureaucrats never call upon their superiors. Superiors call upon subordinates rarely. The social visits to superiors by only a few selected subordinates reveal the attitude of superiors towards subordinates. The technical bureaucrats have greater frequency of paying social visits to their colleagues.

Participation in various activities reveals the intrinsic satisfaction derived out of it. Participation has been found to be the highest with colleagues for all the types of activities examined. Participation in various activities with subordinates and superiors is very low. There is, thus, equalitarian basis for the formation of social relationships.

The closest friends of bureaucrats are their colleagues. This is a significant factor in relation to the functioning of bureau-

jealousies between them. Friendship with colleagues has been reported to be high amongst all categories of bureaucrats. Such relationship helps in solving work problems, in obtaining better understanding (from friends since daily routine informal organizations is rich in opportunities for frustration and tensions), and in easy identification.²⁹

Summary

Informal relations emerge in response to the social need of associating oneself with others.³⁰ They have been found to be inevitable and should be accepted as such.³⁰ Such relationships have been found to be both functional and dysfunctional to the functioning of bureaucracy. They have been found to be the expression of personal relationship—both as mechanism of tension reduction as well as positive psychic gratification. Since orthodox bureaucracy carries impersonality to the point of inhumanity,³¹ formation of informal relations provides sense of security, protection, personal gratification and help in accomplishment of work more quickly. Consequently informal relations serve to preserve the organization from self-destruction.³²

Nearly half the bureaucrats perceive particularistic interaction amongst officials. The perception of particularistic interaction is high amongst public bureaucrats. In a rationally structured system such particularism adversely affects the

²⁹Sayles and Strauss, *op. cit.*, pp. 84-86.

³⁰William G. Scott, 'Organizational Theory: An Overview and an Appraisal', in Joseph A. Lippert (ed.), *Organizations: Structure and Behaviour*, New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1963, p. 17.

³¹*Ibid.*, p. 18.

³²Marshall E. Dimock, *Administrative Vitality*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1960, p. 86.

³³Robert Dubin, *Human Relations in Administration*, New York: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1951, p. 68.

Lastly, informal relations have been found to be functional in many situations in an orthodox and rigid bureaucracy like India. New goals and demands have emerged in the wake of independence and the government is committed to democracy and socialism. However, the bureaucratic system has not changed significantly which has created a structural-lag between traditional system and new goals. Structural-lag implies that while new goals have been formulated, necessary structural changes have not kept pace with them. Theoretically structural-lag would be a web of situations in which the goals of a system have significantly changed while the structure necessary for the realization of these goals continues to be the same. This dissonance between the new goals and persistence of old structure leads to failure of realization of goals on the one hand and confusion in the system on the other. In such a situation informality has potentiality of reducing rigidity of administrative functioning.

cracy as it has high possibility of intervention of particularistic considerations in the performance of work. The relationship of friendships is established with such categories of occupation and profession which have high social esteem, with such people who can be helpful, and largely with officials of similar rank who come into frequent contact in official situation. *Friendship with colleagues helps in easy identification, better understanding of official problems and personal gratification.* High relationship with colleagues in all the spheres of interaction and social relationship discussed above reveals two things. First, the bureaucratic system reflects the most rigid stratified sub-system in India. According to Johnson bureaucratic organizations even in western society despite its high commitment to the values of democracy and equality, reveal the caste system.³² There are sham and unreal attempts at equality. 'Every one here calls the president by his first name', remarked a high bureaucrat. When he was asked, 'Would the department head invite a clerk and his wife over for an evening of bridge?' "That's ridiculous", snapped the executive.³³ The status consciousness has been revealed through social visits, participation in certain activities and choosing friends. Status consciousness extends to wives and children. Even they have a caste.³⁴ In a traditional society, having historically rigidly stratified social system, the bureaucratic organisations shall have greater caste-like structure.

Social relationship which has high frequency amongst colleagues reveals that relationship is based on the principle of exchange. It proves that much of human behaviour is guided by considerations of exchange.³⁵ Social exchange is highest amongst equals. It involves favours that create diffuse future obligations which are not precisely specified and the nature of their return cannot be bargained.³⁷

- ³²Harrison R. Johnson, 'The Office Caste', in Robert Dubin (ed.), *Human Relations in Administration*, Englewood Cliffs, N.J. : Prentice Hall Inc. (Third Edition), 1968, p. 499.

³³*Ibid.*, p. 499.

³⁴*Ibid.*, p. 501.

³⁵Blau, *Exchange and Power in Social Life*, op. cit., p. 5.

³⁷*Ibid.*, p. 93.

Perception of Bureaucratic Personality Bureaucratic Role and Job-Satisfaction

Studies in the area of bureaucratic personality are scant though some references to this problem have been made by various scholars. Personality has been described as an organization of stable structures within a person that dispose him to act in a certain way.¹ Study of personality refers to the enduring characteristics of people and their uniqueness.²

¹Richard S. Lazarus, *Personality and Adjustment*, New Jersey : Prentice-Hall Inc , 1963, p. 49.

²F.E. Gordon, *Personality and Behaviour*, New York : The Macmillan, 1963, p. 19.

the individual.⁶ It is in this sense that we are examining the concept of bureaucratic personality. There are some earlier accounts of the effects of role on personality. These studies were, however, not supported by quantitative data and emphasized the negative and dysfunctional aspects of bureaucratic personality. Merton in this connection has made a reference to Veblen's description of 'trained incapacity', Dewey's description of 'occupational psychosis', and Warrnotte's reference to 'professional deformation'.⁷ It is on the basis of above citations that Merton builds his own exposition of bureaucratic structure and personality suggesting that bureaucratic structure exerts a constant pressure upon the officials to develop certain traits.⁸

Chris Argyris has also emphasized that formal organization blocks the self-actualization of healthy individuals working within it where they have a feeling of failure and frustration.⁹ Formal organizations have such an institutional arrangement whereby all its functioning depends on well formulated rules and regulations. This blocks all incentive for innovation, freedom, and creativity. Such a situation, thus, blocks the self-actualization of 'healthy individuals' who have urge and potentiality for creativity. This phenomenon is intimately related to the question of type of people who are required to be recruited for bureaucratic functioning. It is believed that individuals of average intelligence, possessing sound common-sense, having ability to understand and grasp the routine work and problems, eminently fit the expectations of bureaucratic functioning. Structurally, bureaucracy does not provide opportunity or freedom to members for innovation or creativity.

The phenomenon of bureaucratic personality has been examined by posing questions in the following three areas :

⁶*Ibid*, p. 232.

⁷R.K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*, New York : The Free Press of Glencoe, 1963, pp. 197-198.

⁸*Ibid*, p. 198.

⁹Chris Argyris, *Personality and Organization*, New York : Harper, 1957, p. 76

Commenting on the usual psychological treatment of personality as relatively fixed having been formed during earlier years of life, Katz and Kahn consider such a view as erroneous and believe that personality is more dynamic and is the product of social interaction which continues throughout life.³ In this acceptable sense bureaucratic structure and personality are closely related. Such a relationship can be viewed in three possible ways :

1. Organization structure is set first and then appropriate individuals are chosen. Certain types of jobs necessitate possession of certain specific characteristics by its members which become the basis for recruitment. The process of selection formally is so designed as to select people possessing required characteristics.
2. The structure of an organization becomes flexible so as to make adjustment with the given characteristics of individual employees.⁴
3. Organization structure provides a milieu wherein, through continuous working during working hours, specific personality traits develop and endure. These traits become part of personality and encompass all situations within bureaucracy and outside the bureaucratic milieu.

In bureaucracy, besides the environmental pressures which affect personality, role performance necessitating continuous work of a particular type leads to the formation of specific personality traits. Work of a particular nature involves a process of socialization which shapes traits in accordance with the demands of the vocation. Such a process may be voluntary or involuntary.⁵ The important socialization agency is the work situation itself which brings into being a social psychological milieu with practically unavoidable impact on

³Daniel Katz and Robert L. Kahn, *The Social Psychology of Organizations*, New York : John Wiley, 1967, p. 195.

⁴Robert T. Golembiewski, *Men, Management and Morality*, New York : McGraw Hill, 1965, p. 77.

⁵Peter L. Berger, 'Some General Observations on the Problem of Work', in Peter L. Berger, *The Human Shape of Work* (ed), New York : Macmillan, 1964, p. 231.

have shown that groups with high morale are not necessarily the highest producing groups.¹²

Apart from the pattern of social interaction which we have discussed earlier the question of satisfaction which bureaucrats derive from their work is very important. It is related to ego-expansion, psychic satisfaction and thereby personality-integration. It is also related to the quality of the performance of work. The nature of interpersonal relationships may also be affected by the nature of job-satisfaction. Thus work-output and efficiency, personality-integration, role performance and nature of interpersonal relationships may be related to the phenomenon of job-satisfaction. Through work satisfaction the adjustment of an individual to his task and thus to his role within the organization can be understood.¹³ The question of work satisfaction has assumed great significance in the technologically advanced society which is characterized by complexity, anonymity, specialization, stratification and differentiation. The problems of boredom, alienation, and neurosis are significantly related to the work and satisfaction one derives out of it. In modern industrial enterprise 'the worker is not in touch with the whole product at any point'.¹⁴

Job-satisfaction in the present study has been studied with reference to the following aspects : satisfaction with the nature of job, satisfaction with salary, satisfaction with power, satisfaction with prestige achieved through job and satisfaction with promotion chances.

These five dimensions can be paraphrased in social-psychological terminology as under :

1. Nature of job—Temperamentai consonance.
2. Salary satisfaction—Material consonance.
3. Power satisfaction—Ego consonance.
4. Prestige satisfaction—Social consonance.
5. Promotion chances—Status consonance.

¹²See R. Likert, *New Patterns of Management*, New York : McGraw Hill, 1961.

¹³M. Crozier, *The Bureaucratic Phenomenon*, London : Tavistock Publications, 1964, p. 22.

¹⁴Erich Fromm, *The Sane Society*, London : Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1956, p. 113.

1. Bureaucrats' perception of the validity of the proposition that bureaucratic personality develops as a result of long and continuous working in the bureaucratic organization.
2. Identification of certain positive and negative characteristics by bureaucrats for officers and non-officers.
3. Expectation of desired qualities from colleagues, superiors, and subordinates.

The attribution of certain characteristics to officials and expectation of certain qualities from them reveal the area of specific personality traits amongst the bureaucrats. Analysis of such a phenomenon has relevance to the nature of functioning within bureaucracy by the officials and nature of interpersonal relationship between officials.

An attempt has been made in this study to analyse some of the questions which emerge from the above discussions. How do bureaucrats perceive characteristics of fellow bureaucrats? Do they perceive positive or negative characteristics amongst fellow officials? What qualities do the bureaucrats expect from their superiors, colleagues, and subordinates? To what extent do the qualities expected conform to reality? Are these qualities in consonance with the norms of bureaucratic role? Does continuous functioning in bureaucratic organization lead to formation of a distinct personality? What significant relationship operates in relation to variables?

The second section deals with some aspects related to job-satisfaction of bureaucrats. Initially studies of formal organization emphasized the ways and means by which efficiency could be increased. The 'scientific management school' of Taylor tried to emphasize the best ways to do a job.¹⁰ The 'human relationship school' of Elton Mayo emphasized the need for social satisfaction.¹¹ However, some recent studies

¹⁰For detailed discussions of these schools see F.W. Taylor, *The Principles of Scientific Management*, New York : Harper, 1911.

¹¹Also see Elton Mayo, *The Human Problems of an Industrial Civilization*, Cambridge, Mass : Harvard University Press, 1933, and F.J. Roethlisberger and W.J. Dickson, *Management and the Worker*, Cambridge, Mass. : Harvard University Press, 1939.

'The smile behind the counter is a commercialized line', writes Dixon Wector. He further observes that the filling station attendant has done more to raise the standard of courtesy en masse in the United States than all the manual of etiquette.¹⁷ Polite manners and abundance of courtesy are traits associated with sales jobs in private bureaucracy.

The routine of a clerk was described by a bureaucrat as follows :

He gets up early morning and helps his wife in rolling beds. He keeps them at appropriate place. He gets ready, listens to AIR news bulletin and takes tea. He rushes to hospital to bring medicine for one of the children. Hurriedly he takes his meals at 10 A M., smokes a cigarette and pulls out his cycle and goes to office. In the evening he comes home, reads newspapers, takes a cup of tea, goes to market to purchase articles of daily domestic use, chats with neighbours about office, politics, rising prices, changes his dress, keeps his trousers under the pillow so that the crease is not spoilt, listens to radio and talks affectionately or bitterly with his wife and children and prays to God before going to sleep.

This description reveals how life of a lower bureaucrat gets routinized. Humorous caricature and despising description about clerks who are lowest in the bureaucratic hierarchy have been depicted in several novels and stories. The word clerk is often preceded by the word 'merely'. A bureaucrat remarked that :

The very looks of a clerk evokes a pity and his face speaks as if it is asking for some kindness.

4. How far do you agree that by being a government employee/ industrial employee for a long time one develops some special cultural tastes common among such persons but not found in persons belonging to other occupations ?
5. How far do you agree that by being a government employee/ industrial employee for a long time one develops special likes and dislikes for things common among such persons but not found in persons belonging to other occupations ? The reproducibility of the scale is .8.

¹⁷Dixon Wector, Quoted in C. Wright Mills, *White Collar*, New York : Oxford University Press, 1960, p. 183.

All these items have been scaled to formulate an integrated frame of general satisfaction. Each item has also been analysed separately. The following questions have been posed in connection with the job-satisfaction.

What is the nature and extent of job-satisfaction among bureaucrats? How do bureaucrats perceive their job-satisfaction in regard to nature of work, salary, power, prestige and promotion chances? What reasons have been assigned by them for their satisfactions and dissatisfactions? What significant difference operates at the level of variables?

Bureaucratic Personality

As a result of their day to day routine people develop special preferences, antipathies, discrimination and emphasis.¹⁵ This becomes a part of personality through the process of internalization of certain traits and values. In the present study the perception of bureaucratic personality formation has been scaled on a set of questions.¹⁶

People in certain types of jobs have been associated with certain personality traits. For the sake of qualitative description we quote some of the remarks of bureaucrats in relation to personality traits. A bureaucrat remarked :

An insurance agent or a medical representative tend to behave in a warm friendly manner. They wear good and neat dresses and are adept in giving familiar and warm smile.

¹⁵Merton, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

¹⁶The questions posed were :

1. How far do you agree that by being a government employee/ industrial employee for a long time one develops some habits common among such persons which are not found in persons belonging to other occupations? Strongly Agree/Agree/Disagree/ Strongly Disagree.
2. How far do you agree that by being a government employee/ industrial employee for a long time one develops some style of life (time schedule of work) common among such persons but not found in persons belonging to other occupations?
3. How far do you agree that by being a government employee/ industrial employee for a long time one develops some temperamental qualities common among such persons but not found in persons belonging to other occupations?

occurs, and an instrumental value becomes a terminal value. Stress on depersonalization of relationship leads to treatment of clients as categories, ignoring the peculiarities of the individual cases.¹⁸

High government bureaucrats become authoritarian and reserved by temperament. They lose the capacity to develop natural and spontaneous relationship with common people. A certain amount of arrogance develops, more so amongst the members of the All India Service. One IAS officer when asked to name the personality trait of his category of personnel remarked :

IAS have swollen heads.

This leads to authoritarianism and a domineering attitude towards members of public, an attitude which is not in consonance with goals of socialism, democracy, and equality. When prestige and power are low, as in the case of clerks, through compensatory behaviour they create conditions of self-importance. 'The persons, in whom the craving for prestige is uppermost, hostility generally takes the form of a desire to humiliate others'.¹⁹ This takes place amongst both the lower and higher officials.

The discussion above will show that bureaucratic personality formation is a concept which needs empirical evidence for greater theoretical rigour. Since personality is shaped by the milieu in which one works and moves, bureaucratic personality is the growth of peculiar work milieu to which one is exposed continuously for the major time of a day and significant years of life.

In this study 48.3 per cent of the bureaucrats have a high perception of personality being formed in bureaucratic set-up, while 51.7 per cent of the bureaucrats have low perception. There is no significant difference on the basis of variables. Nearly half of the bureaucrats consider that personality is formed by continuous working in a bureaucratic organization.

¹⁸Merton, *op. cit.*, pp. 199-202.

¹⁹K. Horney, *Neurotic Personality of Our Time*, Quoted in Merton, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

The type of work which they are required to do, the subordination to which they are put and the low prestige which they enjoy in society, all make the clerks look humble. 'They look older than their age', remarked a bureaucrat. 'Babu' is a much despised word in Indian bureaucracy. Yet another officer said that he could tell by seeing the faces of the members of a group, as to who among them is a 'Patwari'.

The higher bureaucrats in government give the impression of being utterly dry, indifferent, and keep their smiles reserved for their bosses, remarked a lower official. Both in public and with subordinates they are reported to take on an 'air' of superiority and make that evident in their overt behaviour. One bureaucrat remarked :

Even when high bureaucrats move in public places, their appearance and style of walking remain stiff and straight.

Bureaucrats tend to develop certain temperamental traits in the process of bureaucratic socialisation. Police officials are haughty and authoritarian not only in the office but even in their interaction with members of family and other people. 'Even children are afraid of police-officer father', remarked a bureaucrat. 'The language of abuse which they use in dealing with criminals is on the tip of the tongue of such officials. While making purchases in the market and while moving in public places they behave as if they are superiors', he added.

Time schedule of work, routine, method—all these tend to have a particular direction. Office-working involves clear-cut division of labour, completion of task, secrecy, observation of time schedule etc. It is a common observation that while writing notes on papers, bureaucrats keep the paper in such a manner—lifting it a little at the top—so that the visitor sitting opposite to him cannot see as to what is being written. This secrecy leads to development of suspicious nature in bureaucrats. It is used as a power since knowledge about certain decisions and the process of decision-making are confined to certain officials who deal with cases. Officials become rule-minded. Adherence to rules conceived as a means becomes transformed into an end in itself. The familiar process of displacement of goals

high perception of the negative characteristics. Greater familiarity based on non-affective ties within formal organizations, where position is hierarchically based, leads to higher negative mutual perception. Relationships tend to be of secondary nature where people may have secret rivalries and jealousies due to limited opportunity for upward movement and hierarchical status distinction. This is reinforced by the fact that personnel in bureaucracy are brought together by design and not by choice.

We find that 35.4 per cent of the responses of the private bureaucrats and 16.3 per cent of the responses of public bureaucrats have been associated to positive perception of the characteristics of bureaucrats, while 60.4 per cent and 42.8 per cent of the responses have been associated with negative perception. The private bureaucrats perceive in larger number the positive characteristics of lower officials. Delay, red-tapism, laziness are not peculiar to the private bureaucracy. In spite of the fact that the social background of bureaucrats in industries and government at the lower level tend to be similar, the substructural pressure of bureaucracy tends to influence the personality traits of its members.

U. U. CENT

Perception of Characteristics for Officers

Of the responses of the bureaucrats, 32.6 per cent associate positive characteristics with officers while 44.9 per cent of the responses associate negative characteristics with the officials. The perception of negative characteristics for officers is also high but is less than negative characteristics perceived for the non-officers. The higher bureaucrats have lesser deprivation, have advantage of better family background, greater power to take decisions, and better education. Such a background helps them in imbibing certain personality traits. We find that those who are high in the hierarchy have better self-esteem and those who are low, have better other-esteem due to higher negative self-perception.

Such a perception becomes more clear and discernible when one tries to observe this phenomenon consciously and analytically by logical examination of accumulated experience. The interviews which we have quoted earlier reveal the view that bureaucrats tend to develop distinct traits which can be easily noticed.

Perception of Negative and Positive Characteristics

As discussed above, continuous and long functioning in a bureaucratic organization leads to formation of certain personality traits, both of negative and positive types. These traits are acquired and added to traits of hitherto socialized personality. General social values and culture orientation tend to influence the personality, mediating through bureaucratic structure. Officials tend to associate certain characteristics of personality with those with whom they work. Such characteristics in evaluative terms can be positive or negative.²⁰

Perception of Characteristics for Non-Officers

Of the responses received 25.4 per cent are related to the positive perception of the characteristics of non-officers and 52.0 per cent of the responses are related to their negative perception (with 22.6 per cent non-responses). There is thus a

²⁰A list of the following characteristics was given to the respondents. They were asked to pick up any three characteristics for officers and three for non-officers. Not every one picked three—some did two and some one. Omission of one or two characteristics was grouped in the non response: unresponsive, conservative, hypocritical, red-tapist, suspicious, manipulative, clever, arrogant, reliable, tolerant, liberal, intellectual, industrious, cunning, flatterer.

These characteristics have been grouped into positive and negative for the purpose of analysis.

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Of the responses of upper bureaucrats 29.7 per cent, 29.3 per cent of the middle and 38.3 per cent of the lower bureaucrats associate positive characteristics with the officers, while 48.8 per cent of the responses of upper, 48.2 per cent of the middle and 38.2 per cent of the lower bureaucrats associate negative characteristics with the officers. There is a significant relationship between hierarchy and perception of the certain characteristics with officers. The lower bureaucrats have higher positive perception for officers. The lower bureaucrats, as mentioned earlier, have greater self-deprivation which inculcates in them a feeling of inferiority complex. This, however, may be a myth that upper bureaucrats possess more positive characteristics. A lower bureaucrat remarked :

Higher bureaucrats do not necessarily possess positive characteristics. They have greater self-confidence partly due to better education, family background, command over English language and essentially the official position. The upper bureaucrats are seen through a coloured glass and a myth of intellectualism and efficiency is created for them. Work in bureaucracy does not necessitate possession of brilliance and extraordinary characteristics.

It could be hypothesized that greater positional deprivation and higher negative perception for self, lead to higher positive perception for those who are high in bureaucracy.

We find that 36.4 per cent of the responses of non-technical bureaucrats, and 29.1 per cent of the technical bureaucrats associate positive characteristics with officers. Of the non-technical 39.4 per cent and of the technical bureaucrats 49.9 per cent associate negative characteristics with officers. The non-technical bureaucrats have higher perception of positive characteristics for the upper bureaucrats compared to the technical personnel. Technical people soon get disillusioned by the bureaucratic functioning. Their work gets blocked due to procedural elaborations. When expectations tend to be different from actuality, there is heightened negative perception of actuality.

Of the responses of public bureaucrats 29.6 per cent and 35.9 per cent of the responses of private bureaucrats associate positive characteristics with officers. Of the responses of public bureaucrats 47.0 per cent and 42.5 per cent of the responses of private bureaucrats associate negative characteristics with offi-

cers. The private bureaucrats have comparatively higher positive perception for officers. Public bureaucracy has revealed greater dysfunctional traits. Delay, red-tapism, political interference, corruption and favouritism are believed to be associated more with the public bureaucracy. With greater authoritarianism the officer-bureaucrat may develop greater arrogance, haughtiness, and lethargy. He lacks human touch and in his behaviour reflects greater formalism and rigidity. This may lead to greater negative perception for officers. Thus perception is heightened negatively as one's expectation tends to be different from actuality. As one is placed lower in hierarchy the higher ups appear to possess qualities higher than they really possess.

Perception Based on Combined Characteristics of Officials and Non-Officials

When these characteristics are combined for both the lower and the higher officials the following results are obtained : 29.0 per cent of the bureaucrats have positive perception, 48.4 per cent have negative perception, while 22.6 per cent are the non-responses. When characteristics for both officers and non-officers are combined we find that 28.4 per cent of the responses of upper bureaucrats, 26.3 per cent of the middle and 32.2 per cent of the lower associate positive characteristics with bureaucrats in general, while 49.8 per cent, 51.4 per cent and 44.2 per cent of the responses of upper, middle and lower bureaucrats, respectively, associate negative characteristics. Lower officials associate positive characteristics with bureaucrats.

Of the responses of non-technical 31.4 per cent and 26.8 per cent of the responses of technical bureaucrats associate negative characteristics with bureaucrats while 44.3 per cent of the responses of non-technical and 52.2 per cent of the responses of technical bureaucrats associate negative characteristics with bureaucrats. Technical people have greater negative perception.

In the responses of public 22.9 per cent and 35.6 per cent in the responses of private bureaucrats associate negative characteristics with bureaucrats while 53.7 per cent of the responses of public and 42.7 per cent of the responses of private bureaucrats associate positive characteristics with bureaucrats. The public bureaucrats have higher negative perception. The relationship is significant for all the variables.

The relationship between the perception of certain characteristics for officers and non-officers is significant. There is, on the whole, higher positive perception of the characteristics for senior officials as compared to the lower ones, but on the whole greater negative characteristics are perceived. Higher positions in actuality need not imply possession or formation of positive characteristics. It may imply possession of such characteristics which are expedient for success-goals.

Higher negative perception of bureaucrats in general implies negative self-perception. Higher positive perception for officers reveals inferiority complex in lower officials and authoritarianism of officer category in bureaucracy. Higher negative perception by technical bureaucrats reveals their frustration and realization of gap between norms and the operational reality. High negative perception of public bureaucrats reveals high dysfunctions of public bureaucracy and its consequences on personality traits of bureaucrats.

Greater perception of negative characteristics reveals that the bureaucratic organisation is not in conformity with the bureaucrats' own expectations. Such a perception will have its impact on the morale of bureaucrats who function within the system. In an organization where people work for performance and achievement of organizational goals such interpersonal perception leads to mutual distrust, suspicion, lack of respect, and demoralization, which are detrimental to the efficient functioning of any organization.

Bureaucratic Roles and Expectation of Qualities

A bureaucratic organization functions basically with different personnel placed in a hierarchy of status organization.

Table 5:1—Perception of Personal Characteristics

Status of Official	Perception of Characteristics		Total	Significance in relation to Variables			
	Positive	Negative		NR	Hierarchy	Specialization	Type
Non-officer status	439 (25.4)	897 (52.0)	1725 (99.9)	Not significant	Not significant	Significant	$\chi^2_1=24.16$ $P<.001$ This χ^2_1 square shows relationship between the characteristics of officers and non-officers
				$\chi^2_1=2.01$ $P<.50$	$\chi^2_1=2.53$ $P<.20$	$\chi^2_1=87.08$ $P<.001$	
Officer status	552 (32.6)	774 (44.9)	1725 (100.0)	Significant	Significant	Significant	
				$\chi^2_1=18.54$ $P<.001$	$\chi^2_1=16.96$ $P<.01$	$\chi^2_1=6.98$ $P<.01$	
Characteristics combined for both officers and non-officers	1001 (29.0)	1671 (48.4)	3450 (100.0)	Significant	Significant	Significant	
				$\chi^2_1=14.25$ $P<.001$	$\chi^2_1=16.50$ $P<.001$	$\chi^2_1=69.19$ $P<.001$	

$\chi^2_1=24.16$
 $p < .001$
 This χ^2_1 square
 shows relation-
 ship between
 the character-
 istics of officers
 and non-officers

This necessitates interaction and interrelationships which tend to operate both at the formal as well as informal levels. For any system to be effective in terms of realization of goals and personal satisfaction of its personnel in terms of interpersonal relationship, it is necessary that certain qualities of personality are imbibed.

The nature and type of qualities which are expected from officials placed at different levels of hierarchy reveal the extent to which these qualities are related to the rational bureaucratic norms. The nature of qualities expected may influence both the nature of interpersonal relationship and functioning of bureaucracy. Various qualities were mentioned by the bureaucrats, which have been categorized into three types : (1) personal-affective, (2) rational, (3) personal non-affective.²¹

At one level, the nature of work performance and interpersonal relationship are to be governed by the official hierarchy,

Table 5:2—Qualities Expected from Superiors, Colleagues and Subordinates

<i>Status of officials</i>	<i>Personal-affective</i>	<i>Rational</i>	<i>Personal non-affective</i>	<i>Total</i>
Superiors	602 (34.9)	662 (38.4)	461 (26.7)	1725 (100.0)
Colleagues	862 (50.0)	499 (28.9)	364 (21.1)	1725 (100.0)
Subordinates	578 (33.5)	820 (47.5)	327 (19.0)	1725 (100.0)
Total	2042 (39.4)	1981 (28.3)	1152 (22.3)	5175

²¹Respondents were asked to mention three qualities, each for superiors, subordinates and colleagues separately. These qualities were categorized into three types :

1. *Personal affective qualities* : Such as kind, sympathetic, human touch, non-revengeful, loving, affectionate.
2. *Rational qualities* : Such as competent, efficient, quick in decision, good grasp.
3. *Personal non-affective qualities* : Such as smart, polite, straightforward, dynamic, confident.

division of labour and procedural formulation, while at the other level they are determined by the personality of the performer. Two officials, successively occupying the same position, perform their work differently because of the difference in their personality systems. Revelation of such characteristics operates both at the overt verbal, as well as overt non-verbal, level. In the former case, one could be mild or arrogant, cooperate or come in conflict. In the latter case, such characteristics are revealed through the language used in notings, drafts, filling up of confidential report, etc.

Qualities Expected in Superiors

Superiors are placed in higher status category and have greater authority and command over their subordinates. This necessitates their role performance to be of a particular type. Of the responses 34.9 per cent fall into the category of personal-affective qualities, 38.4 per cent in the category of rational norms, 26.7 per cent in the category of personal non-affective. There is almost equal expectation of rational qualities related to bureaucratic functioning as well as personal-affective qualities. This is significant, since a large number of affective qualities expectation reveals the importance of human aspect in formal organization.

Of the upper 29.0 per cent, 36.3 per cent of the middle and 33.7 per cent of the lower bureaucrats desire affective qualities in their superiors. Of the upper 39.2 per cent, 40.5 per cent of the middle and 35.5 per cent of the lower bureaucrats expect their superiors to possess rational characteristics. Of the upper 31.8 per cent, 23.2 per cent of the middle and 25.8 per cent of the lower bureaucrats expect their superiors to possess personal non-affective characteristics. High officials expect rational and personal non-affective qualities in their superiors, while lower officials expect their superiors to possess personal-affective qualities. They desire greater affective treatment from their superiors.

This necessitates interaction and interrelationships which tend to operate both at the formal as well as informal levels. For any system to be effective in terms of realization of goals and personal satisfaction of its personnel in terms of interpersonal relationship, it is necessary that certain qualities of personality are imbibed.

The nature and type of qualities which are expected from officials placed at different levels of hierarchy reveal the extent to which these qualities are related to the rational bureaucratic norms. The nature of qualities expected may influence both the nature of interpersonal relationship and functioning of bureaucracy. Various qualities were mentioned by the bureaucrats, which have been categorized into three types : (1) personal-affective, (2) rational, (3) personal non-affective.²¹

At one level, the nature of work performance and interpersonal relationship are to be governed by the official hierarchy,

Table 5:2—Qualities Expected from Superiors, Colleagues and Subordinates

<i>Status of officials</i>	<i>Personal-affective</i>	<i>Rational</i>	<i>Personal non-affective</i>	<i>Total</i>
Superiors	602 (34.9)	662 (38.4)	461 (26.7)	1725 (100.0)
Colleagues	862 (50.0)	499 (28.9)	364 (21.1)	1725 (100.0)
Subordinates	578 (33.5)	820 (47.5)	327 (19.0)	1725 (100.0)
Total	2042 (39.4)	1981 (28.3)	1152 (22.3)	5175

²¹Respondents were asked to mention three qualities, each for superiors, subordinates and colleagues separately. These qualities were categorized into three types :

1. *Personal affective qualities* : Such as kind, sympathetic, human touch, non revengeful, loving, affectionate.
2. *Rational qualities* : Such as competent, efficient, quick in decision, good grasp
3. *Personal non-affective qualities* : Such as smart, polite, straight-forward, dynamic, confident.

the study made, 33.5 per cent of the responses fall under the category of personal-affective qualities, 47.5 per cent under the rational norms and 19.0 per cent under personal non-affective qualities. It is interesting to note that from the subordinates there is a higher expectation of qualities which are related to effective functioning of bureaucracy. We further find that 26.9 per cent of the responses of upper, 33.7 per cent of the middle and 39.2 per cent of the lower bureaucrats are related to expectation of personal-affective qualities from their subordinates. Further 52.0 per cent of the responses of upper, 44.7 per cent of the middle and 46.5 per cent of the lower are related to the expectation of rational norms and 21.0 per cent of the responses of upper, 21.1 per cent of the middle and 14.3 per cent of the lower are related to expectation of personal non-affective qualities from subordinates. The upper bureaucrats expect in greater number qualities related to effective functioning of bureaucracy from the subordinates. They possess higher power and prestige. They want punctuality, discipline, and quick disposal of assigned work from the subordinates as this helps in the effective working of administration.

It has been found that 30.8 per cent of the responses of public and 36.5 per cent of the private bureaucrats are related to personal affective qualities, while 50.7 per cent of the responses of public and 44.1 per cent of the private bureaucrats are related to rational norms of bureaucratic functioning. We find that 18.6 per cent of the responses of public and 19.4 per cent of the private bureaucrats are related to the expectation of personal non-affective qualities from subordinates. Private bureaucrats have a higher expectation of affective personal qualities in their subordinates, as they have from colleagues and superiors. When relationships between bureaucrats are not clearly defined by rules and procedure, affective personal qualities become more important. The greater strain of work in private bureaucracy, its informal situation, greater sense of insecurity, put internal pressure for expecting affective personal qualities from the officials with whom one works.

If we take all the three categories together we find that the quality which is expected most is personal-affective followed by rational qualities related to bureaucratic norms and personal

Qualities Expected in Colleagues

In a hierarchical set up of bureaucracy only colleagues have a sense of equality which has potentiality of creating greater informality and friendly relationships. Formation of friendly relationships depends upon possession of personal-affective qualities. Of the responses 50 per cent relate to personal-affective qualities, 28.9 per cent to rational norms while 21.1 per cent to personal non-affective qualities. Expectation of personal-affective qualities like mutual love, help, etc., is very high from colleagues. In the rigid hierarchical pattern of bureaucratic structure, normative expectation of formalistic impersonality tends to develop amongst higher and lower categories of officials. One's own colleagues belong to the same level of hierarchy and hence feel greater sense of equality and informality. They do not suffer from any strains of status consciousness amongst themselves.

Of the upper bureaucrats 45.7 per cent, 49.5 per cent of the middle and 54.2 per cent of the lower bureaucrats expect personal-affective qualities from their colleagues. Of the upper 29.9 per cent, 29.0 per cent of the middle and 28.0 per cent of the lower bureaucrats expect rational characteristics from their colleagues. Of the upper 24.4 per cent, 21.5 per cent of the middle and 17.8 per cent of the lower bureaucrats expect personal non-affective qualities from their colleagues. The upper bureaucrats lay less emphasis on the affective characteristics even amongst the colleagues. Relationships of personal nature at the upper level even with colleagues tend to become selective. The upper bureaucrats feel more secure and are more individualistic and hence feel less need for affectivity as a means of self-security.

Qualities Expected in Subordinates

Subordinates have lower official status and are expected to obey the orders of superiors in relation to bureaucratic functioning. The nature of expectation is different from them. In

placement, position, salary, and nature of work. Lower bureaucrats in greater number expect personal-affective qualities.

Role performance in bureaucracy can be more flexible and can have greater human touch if relationships between bureaucrats are based on traits which are personal-affective. Relationships based on personal-affective qualities can also adversely affect role performance. Personal-affective qualities are necessary to the extent that they break the rigidity, monotony, and perverse authoritarianism of bureaucracy. Beyond that such affective qualities may be dysfunctional to bureaucratic role performance.

Nature of Job-Satisfaction

The phenomenon of job-satisfaction is related not only to the aspects of work-efficiency and production but also to psychic satisfaction which is an end in itself for the actor. Such job-satisfaction influences personality. The greater part of life is spent in occupational career. The satisfaction accruing therefrom has an important bearing on the total life. The number of irritants, worries, and anxieties which a man is confronted with are to a large extent related to some aspects of a job. A job has a pervasive influence on one's life. Many studies related to motivation and job-satisfaction argued that workers who are alienated from their jobs and their employers work poorly. They leave their jobs, absent themselves, and are prone to maladjustment.²³ Participation of subordinates in decision-making has been advocated with a view to motivating them.

We are trying to study, in the present section, the nature of job-satisfaction of bureaucrats and the reasons for satisfaction or dissatisfaction as perceived by them. We are also making an attempt to find out the nature of job-satisfaction in relation

²³F. Herzberg, B. Mausner and B.L. Synderman, *The Motivation to Work*, New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1959, p. 127.

non-affective qualities. The highest expectation of personal affective qualities is from the colleagues, while the highest expectation of rational qualities is from the subordinates. Personal non-affective qualities are expected most from superiors. We, thus, observe that expectation of personal-affective qualities is high amongst people of similar and equal ranks. Expectation of qualities related to rational norms tends to be comparatively higher from those who are placed lower in bureaucratic hierarchy. Expectation of personal non-affective qualities tends to be comparatively higher for those who are superior in hierarchy. Such qualities help in efficient discharge of work due to personality factors.

It is interesting to note that 40.9 per cent of the bureaucrats perceive high conformity of these qualities amongst their superiors, subordinates and colleagues, while 59.1 per cent of the bureaucrats have low perception of such conformity. The reality, thus, falls short of expectation.²² This will lead to greater dissatisfaction amongst bureaucrats with regard to interpersonal relationships.

The performance of bureaucratic role is likely to be affected by the high expectation of personal-affective qualities. Rationally the functioning of bureaucracy has to be based on formalistic-impersonal relationships. An organization which structurally and by design tends to be formal and impersonal leads to consequential indifference and apathy among functionaries which can be compensated by stress on personal-affective ties. Stress on formalism and authoritarianism leads to deprivation with regard to personal-affective relationships. Relationship between superiors and subordinates tends to be more formal and authoritarian due to hierarchical distinction in

²²The questions posed were :

1. To what extent the qualities which you expect in your superior officers deviate from the expected qualities? Very much/Much/Little/Very Little.
2. To what extent the qualities which you expect in your colleagues deviate from the expected qualities?
3. To what extent the qualities which you expect in your subordinates deviate from the expected qualities?

These questions were scaled. The reproducibility of the scale is .83.

explain the phenomena of satisfaction and dissatisfaction amongst bureaucrats. One upper bureaucrat remarked :

Paper work has increased tremendously, files have multiplied, powers of the officers have been centralized, while rules and regulations have enlarged. I have taught in two universities and consider myself as a misfit in the secretariat where I am working as a Deputy Secretary. The whole work is unproductive and I am only a signing machine.

Yet another IAS officer who felt satisfied, thought that he has a role to play in the task of nation building. He remarked :

My friends in industries get more salary than I do, but what they do ultimately ? Oh, one of them sells a little more 'Dalda' and another a little more petrol. What difference does it make to the nation ultimately ? I have the satisfaction of drafting plans and thus contributing to the nation-building programme.

Apart from the sense of doing something worthwhile, power also provides high satisfaction.

Jobs in districts have greater power. The Collector, for example, even today enjoys the highest position in a district compared to any other public bureaucrat. An IAS official remarked :

The job in the secretariat is more that of file and desk work and does not provide challenges of field.

Another IAS official remarked :

It is a job like that of a dignified 'Babu'. Wives want secretariat jobs. Husbands want districts. Wives want to be in Jaipur because of the amenities and glamour. Husbands want districts because of the power and importance which accrues to them there.

Middle and lower level bureaucrats have lesser job-satisfaction in that order. The lower bureaucrats try to get job-satisfaction through using power at their own level in a way that hinders or helps the work of those who enjoy higher social prestige compared to them in society. This is the expression of status deprivation which is sought to be balanced by such perverse ways of status seeking.

to various categories of bureaucrats. The nature of job-satisfaction has been studied in relation to satisfaction with the nature of work, salary, prestige, power, and promotion chances.²⁴ How the nature of job-satisfaction is likely to influence the motivation of bureaucrats is an important dimension of analysis.

It was found that 49.0 per cent of the bureaucrats reported high job-satisfaction, while 51.0 per cent of them reported low satisfaction. Almost half of the bureaucrats have high job-satisfaction. The question of satisfaction is related to culture which instils aspiration and goals for success and its degree of emphasis. At individual level one's own intensity and mode of aspiration shall determine the level of job-satisfaction. This is significantly determined by the process of socialization. High job-satisfaction implies consistency between one's aspiration for satisfaction and actual satisfaction.

Of the upper bureaucrats 71.4 per cent, 43.5 per cent of the middle and 35.0 per cent of the lower bureaucrats have high job-satisfaction. The rest of the bureaucrats have low job-satisfaction.

Higher bureaucrats possess greater authority which is institutionally given, greater prestige which is recognized both within the sub-system of bureaucracy and social system and higher salary which goes with placement in bureaucracy. There is a significant relationship between hierarchy and job-satisfaction.

The causes for dissatisfaction at the upper level are both of personal as well as general nature. We quote a few interviews to

²⁴The questions on job-satisfaction have been scaled. The reproducibility of the scale is .84 :

- 1 To what degree are you satisfied with the income/salary that you receive from your present position ? Highly satisfied/satisfied/less satisfied/least satisfied.
- 2 To what degree are you satisfied with the power you possess from your present position ?
- 3 To what degree are you satisfied with the prestige you receive from your present position ?
- 4 To what degree are you satisfied with the promotion chances in your present position ?
- 5 To what degree are you satisfied with the nature of work in your present position ?

Table 5:3—Job Satisfaction

Items of satisfaction	Nature of satisfaction			Significance in relation to variables		
	High	Low	Total	Hierarchy	Specialization	Type
Nature of work	380 (66.1)	195 (33.9)	575 (100.0)	Significant $\chi^2_1=7.43$ $P<0.05$	Not significant $\chi^2_1=0.86$ $P<0.50$	Significant $\chi^2_1=3.94$ $P<0.05$
Satisfaction from salary	222 (38.6)	353 (61.4)	575 (100.0)	Significant $\chi^2_1=52.38$ $P<.001$	Not significant $\chi^2_1=0.23$ $P<0.70$	Not significant $\chi^2_1=0.14$ $P<0.80$
Satisfaction from promotion chances	214 (37.2)	361 (62.8)	575 (100.0)	Significant $\chi^2_1=54.65$ $P<.001$	Not significant $\chi^2_1=0.40$ $P<0.70$	Significant $\chi^2_1=9.29$ $P<.001$
Satisfaction from prestige	391 (68.0)	184 (32.0)	575 (100.0)	Significant $\chi^2_1=24.33$ $P<.001$	Significant $\chi^2_1=16.94$ $P<.001$	Not significant $\chi^2_1=1.15$ $P<0.30$
Satisfaction from power	318 (55.3)	257 (44.7)	575 (100.0)	Significant $\chi^2_1=43.51$ $P<.001$	Not significant $\chi^2_1=3.36$ $P<0.10$	Not significant $\chi^2_1=0.27$ $P<0.70$
Total satisfaction	282 (49.0)	293 (51.0)	575 (100.0)	Significant $\chi^2_1=54.54$ $P<.001$	Significant $\chi^2_1=7.25$ $P<.01$	Not significant $\chi^2_1=1.04$ $P<.30$

Scale has been constructed on the above five items. Reproducibility of the scale is .84.

Of the non-technical bureaucrats 54.9 per cent, and 43.7 per cent of the technical bureaucrats have high job-satisfaction and the rest have a low job-satisfaction. The technical bureaucrats have a specialized nature of work. Their comparatively lower satisfaction has several causes. In actual job performance the non-technical bureaucrats have greater power of decision-making and, in some cases, even high salary.

Although the actual work performed by the technical personnel is more arduous and specialized, the general status between comparative equal official positions tends to be high for the non-technical people. The powers of decision-making rest ultimately with the non-technical officials. One technical director sarcastically remarked :

There is really no need of a technical person to be the director of a department, when a UDC in the secretariat takes the decisions.

The non-technical people, since they have powers to take decisions, enjoy greater fringe benefits and privileges.

Even in the matter of allotment of houses, the non-technical bureaucrats get priority,

remarked a technical bureaucrat. Rules and regulations are framed by the non-technical staff. Thus, they tend to concentrate the fringe benefits. Technical people have comparatively better academic achievements and specialized knowledge. Aspirations of the technical people are, therefore, also high. But in many cases they are put to jobs where their specialized knowledge is not put to any use. They are involved in routine and petty decision-making processes.

A bureaucrat remarked that technical people have to work under many handicaps. The general treatment meted out to even the top technical bureaucrats by the top non-technical bureaucrats is authoritarian and in some cases even discourteous. The director of a technical department was seen moving from one section to another for sanction of furniture for the department. Another director who wanted to see the secretary of his department was asked to meet the finance secretary and ultimately to meet the dealing clerk.

Of the public bureaucrats 62.3 per cent, and 70.2 per cent of the private have higher satisfaction of work. The satisfaction of work is high amongst private bureaucrats compared to public bureaucrats. Private bureaucrats have better work facilities and greater opportunity for taking initiative. The results of their work are recognized. Work performance in public bureaucracy has certain constraints. Elaborate rules and procedures, political interference, long channels of decision-making impair the functioning of work. Thus, more varied, complex, and challenging tasks provide higher job satisfaction.²⁶

The various answers given for the satisfaction of work have been categorized into four types :²⁷

1. *Value commitment* : Affective liking of a work.
2. *Instrumental commitment* : Satisfaction due to use of specialized knowledge in relation to work.
3. *High indifference* : Satisfaction due to philosophizing and rationalizing.
4. *Negative commitment* : Satisfaction due to illogical reasons.

Of the responses 39.7 per cent fell under value commitment category, 53.9 per cent under instrumental commitment, 17.1 per cent under high indifference, 11.3 per cent under negative commitment, and 15.0 per cent were no responses. Greater satisfaction in the nature of work is derived due to the instrumental commitment followed by the value commitment. Of the responses of technical people 68.4 per cent associate satisfaction with instrumental commitment while only

²⁶Katz and Kahn, *op. cit.*, p. 368.

²⁷Some of the answers given for satisfaction of work are as under :
 (1) The work is interesting. (2) The work is full of variety. (3) Any work is good if properly done. (4) The work is technical, I can use my legal knowledge in the job I am doing. (5) This is a new plant and I have much to learn here; designing and tool control departments are faced with foreign exchange paucity. I am called upon to devise indigenous designs and put them to test. This gives me a sense of creativity and usefulness. (6) My task is to do whatever is given to me. Any work from peon onwards is good. (7) I have no work (8) I have less work.
 (Bureaucrats have mentioned more than one reasons. Response in each category is out of total N).

Technical bureaucrats in private bureaucracy are given work for which they are most suited and get higher salaries, though here also the non-technical bureaucrats have greater facilities and higher powers.

Satisfaction in Specific Areas of Job

Satisfaction with Nature of Work :

Temperamental Consonance

Taking each aspect of job-satisfaction separately and reasons thereof we obtain the following results :

Of the bureaucrats studied 66.1 per cent are satisfied with their nature of work, while 33.9 per cent are dissatisfied. The reasons for high satisfaction with the nature of work have been given by the respondents.

Of the upper bureaucrats 73.7 per cent, 65.0 per cent of the middle and 60.3 per cent of the lower have high satisfaction with the nature of their work. The relationship between job-satisfaction and occupational status has been confirmed by many studies.²⁵ The upper bureaucrats have greater satisfaction with the nature of work they do. The work at the upper level is more challenging. One can be creative and original in some cases and one has the satisfaction of making a decision. As one goes down in the hierarchy one's work tends to become routine and is not recognized.

²⁵For details see G. Gurian, J. Veroff and Sheila Feld, *Americans View Their Mental Health*, New York: Basic Books, 1960, and Robert Hoppock, *Job Satisfaction*, New York: Harper and Bros., 1935 (The empirical studies of job satisfaction undertaken by Hoppock reveal greater job satisfaction curve implying occupational satisfaction increases with higher occupational status).

39.0 per cent of the responses of non-technical people have such an association. Technical people have greater satisfaction due to instrumental commitment whereby they feel that they are putting to use their technical knowledge and training. Of the responses of non-technical people 47.6 per cent, and 32.1 per cent of the responses of technical people have satisfaction of work due to value commitment. Non-technical people achieve satisfaction largely due to value commitment wherein their own subjective perceptions in terms of liking and interest for the job are dominant.

The causes of dissatisfaction have been categorised as under :²⁸

1. *Wrong placement* : Dissonance between one's abilities, qualifications, aptitude and placement.
2. *Structural dissatisfaction* : Discrepancy between procedures, rules, methods and organizational goals.
3. *Affective rejection* : Emotional and temperamental dissatisfaction.

Wrong placement is associated with dissonance between one's abilities, aptitude, qualifications and placement. Structural dissatisfaction related to procedural and organizational factors and affective rejection is linked with temperamental and affective rejection of work. Of the responses, 30.2 per cent fall under the category of wrong placement, 57.9 per cent under structural dissatisfaction, 31.8 per cent under affective rejection and 29.2 per cent no responses. The major sources of dissatisfaction lie in the organizational factors. Structural dissatisfaction is highest among the lower bureaucrats and also the affective rejection. Wrong placement is perceived to be high among the middle and upper categories of bureau-

²⁸Some of the answers for dissatisfaction of work are as under :

- (1) I have technical qualifications but have been put to table work.
- (2) I am accountant but work which I do is that of the dealing clerk.
- (3) The assignment is too unwieldy (4) There is a lack of coordination between different departments (5) We do not have proper equipments which are necessary to discharge the work. (6) In our country purpose is sacrificed for rules (7) The work of collector is not well defined. He has to see something of everything (8) The work is monotonous (9) There is too much work. (10) I do not have any work. (11) The work is not inspiring.

and speed-money which in some cases have become institutionalized. This helps in getting more money, though through illegal channels. Bureaucrats in private concerns consider absence of economic strains as a more frequent factor for salary satisfaction. The salary scales are comparatively better in private bureaucracy. They get bonus also. Technical bureaucrats also consider lesser economic strains leading to high salary satisfaction. The salary of technical people is high in the industrial concerns. They also belong to younger age-group and do not have many family responsibilities.

The causes for dissatisfaction with salary have been categorized into four groups :³²

- (1) high aspirations,
- (2) economic strains,
- (3) strains of social obligation,
- (4) administrative limitations.

It was found that 49.6 per cent of the responses fall under the category dissatisfied due to high aspirations, 39.7 per cent under economic strains, 26.1 per cent under strains due to social obligation and 24.1 per cent due to administrative limitations. The aspirations of people have increased in the process of constitutional measure for equality for all sections of society. There is an increasing trend towards minimization of gaps between different cadres in the government. In a society which has been traditionally unequally ranked by birth, the sudden impact of modern rational forces leads to heightened aspirations without corresponding awareness of work responsibility. Increase in aspiration is the result of general societal changes after independence whereby a desire for equality has been infused among masses. Such a desire is more intense amongst

³²Some of the answers of the dissatisfaction of salary are as under :

(1) Less qualified people are getting more. There is also a wide gap between maximum and minimum salaries. (2) There is a wide gap between the scale of various professions. Some of my class fellows who could not get admission in the technical colleges, are now in the senior scale of IAS as collectors. (3) I live in joint family and it is difficult to support all the members in my salary. (4) I cannot purchase a car and build a bungalow, for which I had dreamt during my educational career. (5) For a similar job in private concern, the salary is high.

of them low satisfaction. Low satisfaction of salary is due to a variety of factors. In spite of the fact that frequent revisions in grades and salaries have been made in recent years, the level of salary satisfaction continues to be low. It was found that 60.0 per cent of the upper, 34.0 per cent of the middle and 24.5 per cent of the lower bureaucrats have high satisfaction from the salary they receive. The upper bureaucrats have higher salary satisfaction, followed by middle and lower. The upper bureaucrats do not have economic deprivation as high rank in bureaucracy and high salary go together.

The causes for satisfaction of salary as derived from the answers of bureaucrats have been categorized into four groups :³¹ (1) low aspirations, (2) no economic strain, (3) less social obligation, (4) administratively better placed. Of the responses 20.3 per cent fall under the category of satisfaction due to low aspiration, 58.6 per cent under absence of economic strains, 14.7 per cent under less social obligation and 38.7 per cent under the category of administratively better placed.

Lack of financial strains is the most important factor for high salary satisfaction. Upper bureaucrats have high salary satisfaction as they get more money, while a larger number of lower bureaucrats feel satisfied due to low aspiration. The administrative placement implies holding such a post which provides high salary and fringe benefits. An IAS officer remarked :

He belongs to the senior scale of IAS hence there is no reason to be unhappy.

Some posts in government have special allowances. Some other posts require extensive touring which helps in saving money. Some posts carry benefits like telephone, vehicle, peon etc., which help in reducing the cost of living. Negatively speaking, certain posts provide opportunity for taking bribes

³¹Some of the answers given for satisfaction of salary are as under :

(1) The salary is sufficient to provide good education to the children and to maintain decent standard of living (2) The pay scale is good (3) I am earning more than other people having equivalent education. (4) I belong to the best paid government service. (5) I have a small family and me and my family both are earning

In this study 37.2 per cent of the respondents have high satisfaction with their promotion chances while 62.4 per cent of the bureaucrats have low satisfaction. Thus a large number of bureaucrats have low satisfaction. In a pyramid-like structure of bureaucracy positions at the top are few. The desire to go up in the rank falls short of the perception of actual realization. In our society not enough opportunities to move from one job to another exist and in the case of public bureaucracy there is almost no mobility. In a traditional society there is greater emphasis on security and a marked lack of competitive and adventurous spirit. Job opportunities have fallen short of educational expansion and population growth.

We find that 59.4 per cent of the upper, 30.5 per cent of the middle and 24.5 per cent of the lower bureaucrats feel satisfied with their promotion chances. The upper bureaucrats visualize greater chances of promotion. The upper bureaucrats have greater opportunities for promotion. In certain cadres like IAS promotion to the next higher grade is automatic. The upper bureaucrats largely determine the rules and it was alleged that they so frame them that advantages accrue to them. Of the public bureaucrats 31.3 per cent and 43.6 per cent of the private bureaucrats have high satisfaction from their promotion chances. Bureaucrats in the industries have greater satisfaction with promotion chances. The expansion of industries has created greater opportunities for promotion and also mobility of personnel from one industry to another.

It is interesting to note that although recruitment in industries is more particularistic, yet promotions are significantly based on rational criteria. In public bureaucracy it was stated that certain posts have been created with a view to providing promotional opportunities to the favoured bureaucrats. A bureaucrat remarked :

Posts are created for specific people. In cabinet meetings, when a new post is sanctioned, ministers know for whom it has been created. Sometimes posts are upgraded so as to avoid the shifting of a person from a particular post he occupies.

In a study by Gould of public bureaucracy in Rajasthan, 71.0 per cent of government civil servants of IAS and RAS

educated and urban classes. There has been rapid mobility from the lower middle class to the middle and upper middle class in the Indian society. Rapid expansion and greater opportunities for education has led to this phenomenon.

The middle level bureaucrats have dissatisfaction due to high aspirations, and consequent frustrations arising therefrom. Middle level bureaucracy is a marginal category and aspires to rise high. However, since positions at the top are limited mobility to go up is restricted. Those who are dissatisfied at the upper level feel so due to economic strains. The societal expectation for certain types of style of life and desire for conspicuous consumption is high among upper bureaucrats. Some of them, thus, feel the pinch of non-satisfaction of various material comforts. Public employees feel more dissatisfied due to high aspirations. So also the technical bureaucrats.

Satisfaction with Promotion Chances : Status Consonance

Bureaucracy has hierarchy leading to internal stratification. Such stratification demarcates official position, work distribution, and power to take decisions. Recruitment to higher posts is based on internal promotion as well as direct open recruitment.

For certain high posts, recruitment is direct as for the IAS and other provincial services like RAS (Rajasthan Administrative Services) etc. Promotions in these cadres are possible on the basis of seniority-cum-merit formula. But this is limited. The opportunities for promotion are dependent upon various factors such as expansion of certain departments necessitating sudden creation of new posts to be filled up by promotions. It is interesting to note that technical bureaucrats belonging to the early batches got very rapid promotion due to expansion of their departments. Promotions, it has been alleged, are also made on non-rational criterion when certain bureaucrats are favoured by the politicians.

The causes for dissatisfaction have been categorized into following groups :³⁸

- (1) procedural factors : related to bureaucratic procedures,
- (2) particularistic factors : related to phenomena of nepotism, favouritism, etc.,
- (3) psychological factors : related to attitudes of bureaucrats.

Of the responses 53.2 per cent fall under the category of procedural factors, 46.3 per cent under particularistic factors and 16.6 per cent under psychological factors. Procedural factors are responsible for dissatisfaction amongst public bureaucrats. It is interesting to find that those who feel dissatisfied in industries regarding promotion chances feel so on particularistic grounds, and those who feel satisfied feel that merit has been rewarded and recognized.

Satisfaction with Prestige : Social Consonance

Every job provides a certain amount of prestige. Such a prestige can be viewed from two dimensions : prestige which one gets within the sub-system of bureaucracy (intra-bureaucratic) and prestige which one gets within society (extra-bureaucratic). A number of factors are responsible for the determination of prestige within the sub-system of bureaucracy. The facilities attached with a job, power to make decisions, recognition by superiors, skill, temperament, behaviour etc., determine the prestige of the individual. Even

³⁸Some of the answers for dissatisfaction with promotion chances are as under :

- (1) There is no regular procedure for promotion in our concern.
- (2) Future of the industry is not progressive.
- (3) The chief of my factory is a foreign expert who is on a five year contract. I do not see any chance of promotion till he is here.
- (4) Senior posts are few and all cannot go up.
- (5) Management recruit people from outside, even when people are available within the organization.
- (6) Promotion depends on seniority and recommendation.
- (7) Rules are misinterpreted to suit particular persons.
- (8) The officers never want other officials to come up.
- (9) Senior positions are occupied by younger people who are not going to retire soon.

rank said that promotions are not based on objective grounds.³³ Officials feel that the political leaders of the government alternate between the seniority and the merit systems and emphasize whichever formula gives advantage to their favoured civil servant.³⁴ Promotion chances are not rationally determined. It is not in consonance with one's achieving certain efficiency. Some people, for example, engineers who had joined some ten years back have been able to get promotions very quickly, while those who have joined after that, are struggling hard to get even the next jump.

The answers to the reasons for satisfaction have been categorized into the following three types :³⁵

- (1) procedural factors,
- (2) performance factors,
- (3) psychological factors.

Of the responses 37.4 per cent relate to satisfaction due to procedural factors, 44.8 per cent to performance factors and 42.5 per cent to the psychological factors. The lower bureaucrats feel satisfied due to psychological factors. Their aspirations are not high, as they tend to perceive reality more pessimistically. Thus when aspirations are not high satisfaction tends to be high. The technical bureaucrats have high satisfaction due to performance factors. Their performance can be assessed more objectively due to their specialized nature of work.

Many industrial bureaucrats feel satisfied due to performance factors. This suggests that there is consonance between promotion chances and work efficiency in private bureaucracy.

³³Michael A. Gould, *Politics, Administration and Economic Development in an Indian State*, Berkeley, California : Department of Political Science, Unpublished Ph D Thesis.

³⁴*Ibid*, p 121.

³⁵Some of the answers for the satisfaction of promotion chances are as under :

(1) I am satisfied with my promotion chances since it depends on seniority. (2) I was in early batches of IAS (3) I am satisfied with my promotion chances as that depends on merit. (4) The chances of promotion will depend on my competence. (5) I am hopeful of getting promotion (6) I have got whatever was due to me.

Placed as they are in the lower hierarchy, the factors related to job cannot provide them high prestige. Private bureaucrats feel more satisfied due to job-oriented factors. The answers given for dissatisfaction of prestige have been categorized into two groups :³⁹

- (1) job-oriented factors,
- (2) personality-oriented factors.

Of the responses 48.4 per cent fall under the category of job-oriented factors, while 41.8 per cent in the category of personality-oriented factors. The middle and upper categories of bureaucrats feel dissatisfied due to job-oriented factors. The technical bureaucrats feel dissatisfied due to job-oriented factors. The industrial bureaucrats also have lesser satisfaction due to perception of their comparative lesser social prestige.

Satisfaction with Power :

Ego Consonance

Authority is vested in the bureaucrat ideally, so as to help him in the effective discharge of his duty. Any work requiring decision-making empowers a person to decide things by using his judgment within the framework of rules and procedures which are the rational criteria of guiding the decision. Such an authority is unequally distributed amongst various ranks within bureaucratic organization. Such a possession of authority may have its impact on the society i.e., beyond intra-bureaucratic dimensions of work. The authority vested in a person due to official status has its influence on the general interactional situation as he is recognized through his official position. In social introductions official positions are mentioned (excepting those of the lower cadre people whose official designations are purposely avoided).

³⁹Some of the causes of dissatisfaction are as under :

(1) Clerks have no prestige (2) Prestige depends on kinship with the management. (3) Prestige is low in my job as there is no public contact. (4) Indian factories are managed by accounts people who never respect the engineers.

the allotment of a separate cabin or room, number of telephones, air-conditioning of the cabin, number of peons one has, affect the prestige of the bureaucrats. However, in relation to society such jobs which have potentiality of helping or harming people in society are considered more prestigious.

It was found that 68.0 per cent of the bureaucrats are satisfied with the prestige they received from their jobs, while 32.0 per cent of them are not satisfied. The satisfaction of prestige is thus high. High prestige satisfaction reflects individual perception of self which is not determined by the system and its organization.

Of the upper bureaucrats 82.3 per cent, 63.0 per cent of the middle, and 60.5 per cent of the lower bureaucrats feel satisfied with the prestige they receive. Satisfaction thus tends to be higher for the bureaucrats at all levels. There is a significant relationship between hierarchy and prestige satisfaction. The upper bureaucrats have high prestige satisfaction. Much of prestige in our society goes with rank in bureaucracy. It was found that 76.4 per cent of the non-technical bureaucrats and 60.3 per cent of the technical bureaucrats have high prestige satisfaction. The non-technical bureaucrats have higher prestige satisfaction. The technical people have lesser fringe benefits and have lesser power to deter, oblige, and help the public clients or fellow bureaucrats.

The reasons for satisfaction of prestige have been categorized into two groups :²⁷

- (1) job-oriented factors,
- (2) personality-oriented factors.

Of the responses 57.3 per cent fall under the category of job-oriented factors, while 36.1 per cent under the personality-oriented factors. Satisfaction due to personality-oriented factors is high amongst the lower category of bureaucrats.

²⁷Some of the reasons given for satisfaction are as under :

(1) I can use vehicles. (2) I have servants whom I can use (3) I come into contact with important persons. (4) I deal with the cases of high officials (5) I have high prestige as my personal behaviour is good (6) I have an attractive and smart personality.

psychological relevance as it helps in the ego-expansion. The official position significantly affects social status.

It was found that 61.3 per cent of the responses relate power to proper functioning, 30.8 per cent to authority satisfaction and 24.5 per cent to social status. The psychological satisfaction of possessing authority and sociological relevance of power as an element which determines social status have been stressed less and discussions regarding them often neglected compared to rational bureaucratic norm whereby power is ideally used for better and effective execution of work.

Upper bureaucrats have greater satisfaction of power due to their role in executive efficiency. The factor of 'High Social Status' is also perceived greater by the upper bureaucrats. Lower bureaucrats derive greater authority satisfaction from the use of power. Larger number of responses in the private bureaucracy relate to power as an element which helps executive efficiency. Public bureaucrats have comparatively higher perception of power as related to authority satisfaction. Posting preference in large part is guided by the desire for more administrative authority.⁴⁰

Dissatisfaction of Power

Answers to the dissatisfaction of power have been grouped into the following categories :⁴¹

⁴⁰Gould, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

⁴¹Some of the answers given are :

(1) I cannot maintain discipline as I do not have power. (2) We have no power of granting increments or withholding them, while we supervise the actual work. (3) A deputy secretary has no powers in appointments. He cannot sanction expenditure and cannot appoint even a peon. There is hardly any case which is decided at his level. (4) I have to examine the matter and put it up according to the rules. Sometimes interested officers and ministers want to give undue benefits to some people. They ask me to put up a favourable note. The power to examine the case according to rules thereafter has no meaning. I cannot defy the wishes of my superiors otherwise my confidential reports can be spoiled. (5) I have only advising capacity. (6) I am now incharge of only one section. Number of sections have been reduced now. In the team of bosses no powers are left for the subordinates. (7) A clerk has no power. (8) There is no direct public dealing in the secretariat hence I cannot help my relatives, friends, etc. (9) The lower caste people have suddenly experienced high status, hence do not bother.

Possession of authority has been the source of high satisfaction for public bureaucrats. High concentration of authority with public bureaucrats is a colonial legacy. It was nurtured and nourished in the feudal social system and handed over to the national government after independence. The power one obtains by virtue of the office helps in executing work efficiently. It satisfies one psychologically and also enhances social status. Of the bureaucrats studied 55.3 per cent have said that they are satisfied with the powers they possess, while 44.7 per cent of the bureaucrats reported dissatisfaction. Of the upper bureaucrats 74.3 per cent, 53.5 per cent of the middle, and 40.5 per cent of the lower bureaucrats have high satisfaction from the power they possess. The upper category of bureaucrats have higher satisfaction with the power they possess, and lower have the least. In bureaucracy power and rank generally go together.

Of the non-technical bureaucrats 59.3 per cent, and 51.7 per cent of the technical bureaucrats have high satisfaction of power. Technical people have greater power deprivation as power to decide rests in the hands of non-technical people. The technical people have significantly low satisfaction of power. The various answers as to why bureaucrats feel satisfied with the power they possess have been grouped into the following categories :²⁹

- (1) executive efficiency,
- (2) authority satisfaction,
- (3) high social status.

Through the exercise of authority subordinates are asked to work in a disciplined manner. Authority satisfaction has

²⁹Some of the answers are as under :

- (1) I have ample administrative and financial powers. (2) I can get things done in the best interest of the public welfare (3) I can decide as to what subordinates I need and what material I have to purchase
- (4) Authority helps in getting the work done, through exercising control over subordinates (5) There are more sections under me.
- (6) I am holding position at the top of IAS cadre. (7) I have power to help the public, being in a department which has public dealings. (8) People come to me to get licences. (9) I have enough discretion to oblige people.

faction in relation to salary and promotion chances. The upper bureaucrats have significantly high satisfaction in relation to all the attributes of job. The technical people feel deprived and dissatisfied regarding their prestige and promotion chances. Private bureaucrats are more satisfied with their promotion chances and the nature of work they do.

Factors related to instrumentalities of bureaucracy and job-oriented factors are largely responsible for satisfaction and dissatisfaction of bureaucrats. Salary satisfaction is related to absence of economic strains while salary dissatisfaction to high aspirations.

The results reveal that bureaucratic system weighs very favourably towards the upper rank resulting into deprivations to other ranks. The various attributes of job in terms of power, prestige, etc., enhance the status of upper bureaucrats. It is also revealed that technical bureaucrats experience greater deprivations and consequent frustrations. Technical bureaucrats are required to play a greater role in the process of change in developing nations. The gap between different levels of bureaucracy has not been reduced. There is a need for greater levelling by reducing the hiatus between different ranks. This hiatus has operated maximally due to long colonial rule in feudal society.

Summary

Bureaucrats do perceive formation of a typical personality as a result of long and continuous work within bureaucratic organization. Bureaucrats have higher negative perception of the characteristics possessed by both non-officers and officers. However, the perception of positive characteristics is higher for officers and upper bureaucrats. This may signify inferiority complex of the lower bureaucrats and authoritarianism of the upper bureaucrats. There is higher negative

- (1) executive inefficiency,
- (2) authority dissatisfaction,
- (3) status deprivation.

Of the responses 50.2 per cent fall under the category of executive inefficiency, 47.1 per cent in the authority dissatisfaction and 46.7 per cent in the status deprivation. The upper bureaucrats have greater perception of dissatisfaction arising out of executive inefficiency. Lack of power hinders their discharge of duties. The authority dissatisfaction is the highest amongst the lower bureaucrats and so also 'status deprivation'. Private bureaucrats have dissatisfaction due to status deprivation. The powers enjoyed by the private bureaucrats have mere intra-organizational significance. In comparative self-evaluation with others they feel greater status deprivation due to lack of power compared to the power which public bureaucrats possess in relation to society. Technical bureaucrats have greater dissatisfaction of power.

It was reported that in the actual decision-making process the voice of a non-technical bureaucrat is final. Even in technical matters the non-technical bureaucrat makes final decisions. Awareness of possessing greater skill and knowledge of a specialized nature, the technical bureaucrats all the more resent such a discrepancy between possession of power and competence to take decisions. In a few industrial concerns the top men are increasingly being recruited from technical cadre. Such bureaucrats combine in them administrative experience with technical know-how and may be more efficient and effective. The concept of power is inherent in any bureaucratic set up. It is now increasingly felt that a mechanism should be evolved whereby it becomes possible to involve all the people placed at the various levels of bureaucratic hierarchy, in the process of decision making. Such a participative bureaucracy would help in involving all the people of bureaucracy and democratize bureaucratic functioning.

We find that half of the bureaucrats are not satisfied with their jobs. Upper and non-technical bureaucrats have greater job-satisfaction. While there is high satisfaction regarding the nature of work, prestige, and power, there is low satis-

significantly high satisfaction of relationship.⁴² However, a substantial number of the bureaucrats do not feel satisfaction of relationship. This is likely to influence the role performance of bureaucrats.

We find that only half of the bureaucrats are satisfied with the job they are doing. Job satisfaction is higher amongst the upper bureaucrats and non-technical bureaucrats. While there is high satisfaction regarding the nature of work, prestige and power, there is low satisfaction in relation to salary and promotion chances. The upper bureaucrats have high satisfaction in relation to all the attributes of job. There is greater dissatisfaction amongst technical bureaucrats regarding their prestige and promotion chances. There is greater satisfaction regarding nature of work and promotion chances amongst private bureaucrats. Very low satisfaction regarding salary and promotion chances reflects widespread concern of bureaucrats regarding career and material needs.

A large number of bureaucrats feel satisfied with the nature of work due to instrumental commitment. Satisfaction due to this factor is high amongst the technical bureaucrats. More upper and private bureaucrats feel satisfied with the nature of work. Dissatisfaction with the nature of work has been associated with structural factors. Less salary satisfaction is attributed to absence of economic strains, while dissatisfaction has been attributed to high aspiration. Satisfaction and dissatisfaction with promotion chances are also associated with procedural factors. Prestige satisfaction and dissatisfaction have been largely associated with job-oriented factors and satisfaction and dissatisfaction of power have been related to factor of executive efficiency.

The prevailing bureaucratic system puts greater strain on the satisfaction of middle and lower bureaucrats, while it is

⁴²Significance in relation to variables is as under :

Satisfaction of relationship and hierarchy, $\chi^2_1 = 29.75$ $P < 0.001$;

Satisfaction and specialization, $\chi^2_1 = 1.57$ $P < 0.30$;

Satisfaction and type, $\chi^2_1 = 3.86$ $P < 0.05$.

perception by the technical bureaucrats which reflects their shock and frustration. In actual work they find a gap between what they had imagined the officials to be, and what they actually are. Even if the gap is not pronounced the perception about it tends to be exaggerated.

Regarding expectation of qualities from fellow officials, we find that greater personal-affective qualities are desired followed by rational qualities. Personal-affective qualities are desired most from the colleagues. There is higher expectation of rational qualities from subordinates. Lower officials desire greater personal affective characteristics from their superiors, while superiors desire their subordinates to possess greater rational characteristics.

Stress on formalism and authoritarianism in bureaucracy leads to desire for personal-affective qualities. It can be said that role performance in bureaucracy can be more flexible and can have greater human touch if relationships are based on personal-affectivities. Beyond a point, however, it can adversely affect the functioning of bureaucracy. Rational norms of bureaucratic functioning have also been stressed.

Relationship with colleagues tends to be more free and close. The closest circle of friends of bureaucrats belongs to the category of colleagues. They, thus, provide cathartic satisfaction. Role performance is likely to be significantly influenced by the perception of characteristics and expectations of qualities. This is likely to influence the satisfaction of relationship with fellow officials.

It is interesting to note that 59.1 per cent of the bureaucrats have expressed high satisfaction regarding their relationship with fellow officials while 40.9 per cent have expressed low satisfaction.⁴³ Upper bureaucrats and public bureaucrats have shown

⁴³The following questions have been scaled regarding satisfaction of relationship :

(1) How much are you satisfied the way you are getting along with your superiors ? Very much/Much/Little/Very little (2) How much are you satisfied the way you are getting along with your colleagues ? (3) How much are you satisfied the way you are getting along with your subordinates ? The reliability of the scale is .9

Dysfunctions of Bureaucracy

Studies of bureaucracy have emphasized its positive attainments and functions, while aspects of dysfunctions related to internal stresses and strains of such structures have been almost neglected.¹ Sociological analysis of dysfunctions of bureaucracy is a recent phenomenon. Merton whose name is cited in every study of dysfunctions was probably the first to use the term in relation to bureaucracy.² Weber who is

¹Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1957, p. 197.

²Frederick C. Dyer and John M. Dyer, *Bureaucracy vs. Creativity*, Florida: University of Miami Press, 1965, p. 21.

very favourable to the upper bureaucrats. This signifies that there is greater deprivation amongst lower ranks. Technical bureaucrats experience greater frustration and deprivations. In a democratic society the gap between members of sub-system of bureaucracy also needs to be reduced. High status-gap between various ranks of bureaucracy signifies the continuity of certain colonial and feudal traits in administrative structure. This is not in consonance with the goals of democracy and egalitarianism. On the one hand it will lead to greater personal dissatisfaction while on the other it will affect the general morale of bureaucrats and consequently adversely affect their role performance.

The Indian Journal of Public Administration has published articles from time to time on the problems of administration in India. The sociological perspective in the journal has, however, been missing. We are not concerned with the study of dysfunctions of bureaucracy as a value judgment nor are we taking a normative or moral attitude for its analysis. We shall attempt to focus our attention on structural conditions in relation to dysfunctions of bureaucracy. Dysfunctions of bureaucracy, which lessen the adaptation or adjustment of the system, often give rise to structural change.¹⁰

The potent questions relating to the dysfunctions which have been discussed by some authors relate to the treatment of procedures and rules leading to delay, red-tapism, unresponsiveness, avoidance of responsibility, quest for power (which often follows in petty ways), and corruption.¹¹ Corruption and administrative inefficiency have always existed in some form or other. In ancient India, according to Kautilya, widespread corruption had existed.¹² During mediaeval times the principal forms of corruption were the extortion of revenue by central and local officials and the perversion of justice.¹³ Officials did not act according to definite rules or laws. Amassing of wealth through tactful methods by officials was praised rather than censured.¹⁴ Colonial rule aggravated corruption although it helped in the establishment of a certain type of law and order situation in the country. The officials of the British East India Company amassed fortunes by a variety of venal practices.¹⁵ The modern conception of integ-

An Organization and Method Section was constituted in the Secretariat in May 1955. A separate school was set up for the Training of State Administrative Service Officers in 1957.

¹⁰Peter M. Blau, *The Dynamics of Bureaucracy*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1955, pp. 8-9.

¹¹Marshall E. Dimock, *Administrative Vitality*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959, p. 2.

¹²John B. Monteiro, *Corruption*, Bombay: Manaktalas, 1966, p. 19.

¹³*Ibid*, p. 18.

¹⁴*Report of the Committee on Prevention of Corruption*, Delhi: Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India, 1964, p. 6. To be referred as Santhanam Committee Report in further citations.

¹⁵Monteiro, *op. cit*, p. 19.

regarded as the founder of the systematic study of bureaucracy has considered bureaucracy capable of attaining the highest degree of efficiency.³ Although the basic motive of a bureaucratic system is the rational and efficient achievement of goals, as Weber emphasized, it is undeniable that bureaucracy carries with it seeds of its own inefficiency.

In recent times the analysis of Merton,⁴ Gouldner⁵ and Selznick⁶ have highlighted dysfunctions of bureaucratic organizations.

There is hardly any scientific sociological study on dysfunctions of bureaucracy in the Indian context. Corruption is almost a taboo as a research topic and is rarely mentioned in scholarly discussions.⁷ However, both public gossip and newspaper accounts of dysfunction of bureaucracy, specially in relation to corruption and inefficiency, are very high. Debates in Parliament and Assemblies have quite often dealt with corruption in high places and amongst bureaucrats and politicians. The Government of India has appointed committees and commissions from time to time to study different aspects of functioning of public bureaucracy in relation to inefficiency and corruption.⁸ The Government of Rajasthan has also appointed several committees to analyse problem and suggest means of improvement.⁹ But almost all these studies lack the perspectives of social scientists.

³Max Weber, *From Max Weber : Essays in Sociology*, H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (translated and edited), New York : Oxford University Press, 1946, p. 214.

⁴Merton, *op. cit.*, pp 191-205.

⁵A.W. Gouldner, *Patterns of Industrial Bureaucracy*, Glencoe, Ill. : The Free Press, 1954.

⁶P. Selznick, *TVA and the Grassroots*, Berkeley : University of California Press, 1949.

⁷Gunnar Myrdal, *Asian Drama*, Volume II, London : Allen Lane, The Penguin Press, 1968, p. 938.

⁸Some of the relevant reports are : (1) Administrative Reforms Commission Report of the Various Study Teams. (2) Gorwala Report on Public Administration (3) Report of the Committee on Prevention of Corruption (4) Appleby Reports on Public Administration in India.

⁹Some of the important committees are as under :

(1) Departmental Proceedings Committee, 1954 (2) The Rajasthan Administrative Enquiry Committee, 1956. (3) Revenue Law Commission, 1962. (4) Jail Reform Commission, 1962. (5) Study Team of Panchayati Raj, 1962. (6) Administrative Reforms Committee, 1962.

How far factors related to personality of the bureaucrats influence inefficiencies? How far administrative factors influence inefficiency? How far factors related to structural strains influence inefficiency?

(c) *Structural Deviant Factors and Dysfunctions of Bureaucracy*

How far the factors of groupism, favouritism and non-rational criterion in promotion are related to the bureaucratic dysfunctions?

(d) *Political System and Dysfunctions of Bureaucracy*

What is the nature of relationship of politicians and bureaucrats? What consequences—positive, negative, or neutral—follow from political interference?

The above aspects related to dysfunctions of bureaucracy are discussed in the following pages.

Corruption and Bureaucratic Dysfunctions

Corruption has been believed to exist in all periods of political development in some form or other.¹⁹ The extent of corruption has been considered to be high in the developing nations. Corruption which is problematic in bureaucratic functioning has certain fundamental traits. It is a deviation of individual or individuals from the accepted legal norms of bureaucratic functioning. It leads to personal gain or profit largely in material terms. Sociologically, the causes of corruption are dominantly structural rather than ethical. In terms of its consequences in the developing nations it introduces an element of irrationality in plan fulfilment by influencing the actual course of development.²⁰

¹⁹Ralph Braubanti, 'Reflections on Bureaucratic Corruption', *Public Administration*, London: Winter, 1962, p. 357.

²⁰Myrdal, *Asian Drama*, Vol. II, *op cit.*, p. 952.

The Santhanam Committee and, more recently, the Administrative Reforms Commission Reports have mentioned about the widespread feeling in the country about prevalence of corruption at the political level.²⁴ It is believed that the politicians, business elites, and high bureaucrats have joined hands together in getting mutual personal advantages.

We intend to focus our attention on the following aspects while discussing the various aspects of corruption : (a) degree of institutionalization of corruption—institutionalized corruption and uninstitutionalized corruption, (b) magnitude of corruption—major corruption and minor corruption, and (c) bureaucratic hierarchy and corruption—upper, middle and lower.

As far as institutionalized corruption is concerned, certain posts and certain departments are believed to be corrupt. Such departments and posts through their functioning involve direct contact with the public. In this relationship the bureaucrats have concentration of powers and enough discretion to take decisions affecting the clients. The practice of bribe taking gets easily institutionalized due to the greater opportunity and power inherent in such departments and posts. The social visibility of such corruption is high.

Perception of Corruption in Various Departments in Public Bureaucracy

Extent of corruption tends to differ from department to department. The departments which have been perceived to be corrupt are enlisted in Table 6:1.²⁵

²⁴See Santhanam Committee Report and Reports of various Study Teams of the Administrative Reforms Commission of the Government of India.

²⁵The respondents (300 governmental bureaucrats) were asked to specify three departments, where there is higher incidence of corruption. In all 900 responses were possible. However, some respondents mentioned only one or two departments as corrupt. The number of such responses was 129.

Officials of the British East India Company amassed fortunes by a variety of means ²¹ Two centuries ago Britain had high corruption and scandals at high level are not uncommon in America. Pecuniary values are dominant in affluent society and actors are motivated culturally to aspire for economic goals. That becomes a yardstick to measure success. The economic structure and cultural milieu get tied up with each other and influence the motivational orientation of its members. The reasons of elimination of petty corruption in these societies are . emphasis on rational values, which leads to efficiency, appropriate material rewards without great gaps in rewards between different status hierarchies within the bureaucracy; and absence of any colonial traditions. Non-existence of corruption is due to structural pressures in these societies

In India, during the British period there was no direct check on officials, who ruled paternally and evoked fear and awe. There was also absence of any enlightened public opinion. At various levels of bureaucracy, corruption in all princely States of Rajasthan was reported to be prevalent. It has been stated that the State princes and rulers used to offer fabulous money to the A.G.G. as a gift through their high officials.²² Post-independence period witnessed the continuance of corruption in some form or the other with some new dimensions. One hears a great deal about corruption in India. Newspapers often run accounts and allegations of corruption in government.²³ Corruption and nepotism among politicians and officials are freely discussed and are generally assumed to be on the increase.

²¹Monteiro, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

²²'P'—the Revenue Minister of a small State in Rajasthan took a sum of Rs. one lac to the A G G , on behalf of the king, at Mt. Abu, as a gift for him. The A G G. had been very happy with the Revenue Minister and gave this money to him as token of his kindness. The Revenue Minister kept this money with him in ambivalence, not being certain, whether he should keep the money or give it back to the king. He dreamt one night the family deity asking him to give this money back to the king, which he did

²³Richard P. Taub, *Bureaucracy Under Stress*, Berkeley : University of California Press, 1969, p 139.

'The attitude of police', according to a bureaucrat, 'continues to be like that in the colonial regime in which they were considered to be an instrument to curb the activities of the natives, with all their high-handedness at their command. This attitude even after independence has not changed.'

The problem of corruption in the police has been conceded by various police commissions. The Bihar Police Commission's report states that there is complete unanimity among the witnesses on the point that corruption exists in the police. The judiciary has been very critical of police functioning being a close and keen observer of its behaviour. Mr. Justice A.N. Mulla roused such a controversy that the State went in appeal to the Supreme Court to get the adverse remarks expunged from his judgment. The judge has said : '.... There is no single lawless group in the whole country whose record of crime come anywhere near the record of that single organized unit which is known as the Indian Police force'.²⁷

Excessive concentration of power, absence of any tradition of police helping the common man, the legacy of colonial police organization, the authoritarian and egoistic personality of police personnel, make the department corrupt.

Public Works Department

Public Works Department undertakes work through contractors for construction and repair of government buildings, roads, etc. Corruption here is limited to the contractors. Engineers and other officials of this department are bribed by the contractors for various reasons. We quote below remarks made by a bureaucrat in this regard :

The contractors use sub-standard material, their work is certified even when it is not according to work stipulations. Information about tenders is divulged to them and lower quotations are rejected on flimsy grounds. For all this, there is a reward from the contractor.

²⁷Quoted in Monteiro, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

**Table 6:1—Departments perceived to be Corrupt
in Public Bureaucracy**

<i>Departments</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Responses</i>
1. Police	23.2	209
2. P.W.D.	17.3	156
3. Taxation	12.0	108
4. Revenue	8.6	77
5. Transport	4.9	44
6. Judiciary	3.0	27
7. It exists in all departments	3.0	27
8. Development	2.9	26
9. Civil Supply	1.7	15
10. Medical	1.6	14
11. Education	1.4	13
12. Industries	1.4	13
13. Forest	1.4	13
14. Railways	1.2	11
15. Anti-corruption	0.9	8
16. Mines	0.8	7
17. Cooperation	0.3	3
18. No corruption	14.3	129
	99.9	900

We confine our analysis to the first three departments, where corruption has been perceived to be high. These departments have either greater public dealing like Police and Taxation or concentration of greater power to benefit a few, like P.W.D

Police Department

The public image of the police in India is generally negative. The role of the police has been negatively emphasized as that of punishment and not positively perceived as an agency of help and assistance to public. Normally people avoid going to the police station even to obtain assistance.²⁸

²⁸A lady lecturer whose flat was broken open in broad daylight and where theft had taken place, was advised by the top police officials not to report the matter as she being a lady might be unnecessarily troubled for recording evidences, going to the police station etc.

'The attitude of police', according to a bureaucrat, 'continues to be like that in the colonial regime in which they were considered to be an instrument to curb the activities of the natives, with all their high-handedness at their command. This attitude even after independence has not changed.'

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²⁷Quoted in Monteiro, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

The folklore of bureaucracy is full of such anecdotes where payments have been reported to be made to the contractors for bridges which were never constructed. Bridges and roads were reported to have been washed in the first rain being poorly constructed. Lesser payments are made to the illiterate labour and signatures obtained for higher payments. It is said that corruption has been so much institutionalized in this department that a certain percentage of money is fixed by the contractors for administrative personnel in P.W.D. at all levels.

Though corruption is higher in terms of the amount of money involved it is confined to contractors. There is great loss to the public works which may not be of immediate consequence but it has grave long term and indirect consequences.

Taxation Department

Taxation is the third department where bribe is reported to be high. Though all citizens pay taxes in some form or the other, yet in certain cases taxes are paid directly through certain procedures laid down by the government. Taxation is both a State as well as a Central subject. Municipalities also levy taxes. Income-tax, sales tax, custom, excise, octroi are some of the various taxes which are levied by the government. The direct, continuous, and major involvement in taxation departments is that of business people. 'Non-evasion of tax by businessmen is an exception rather than a norm', a high official remarked. There is no acceptable estimate of tax evasion. Concealed income amounting to Rs 70 crores was disclosed by the assesseees themselves under the voluntary disclosure scheme of 1951. According to an unofficial estimate tax is evaded annually by assesseees in the higher income group to the extent of Rs 230 crores.²⁸ In our study an industry 'B'

²⁸Monteiro, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

was reported to have been keeping two accounts. The accounts were known as number one and number two. The number two account relates to concealed money and illegal deals and its adjustment. It was revealed that there is internal checking of account two by qualified and reliable internal auditors. In making purchases it is not uncommon to see customers purchasing articles without taking bills and thus avoiding payment of sales tax. The Public Accounts Committee reported in their sixth report to the third Lok Sabha as follows :

The Committee is rather alarmed at such a large number of cases of under-assessment involving considerable amount detected in the test audit by the Comptroller and Auditor General, when it is borne in mind that the scrutiny was limited to only a small percentage of cases in 235 Income Tax Wards out of 1310 Wards in the country."

Tax evasion has become a systematic mechanism and it is very widespread. Some business houses are reported to engage the services of high ranking retired Income Tax officials who are in a position to advise them about the techniques of tax evasion and can also influence their erstwhile subordinates. Evasion of tax becomes difficult unless officials connive and support such deviation. The public has not yet institutionalised the norms of self-imposed social responsibility to pay taxes which are obviously necessary to run the Government. Sometimes cumbersome official procedure is responsible for non-payment of taxes. This is true for salaried people and ordinary citizens. Businessmen systematically try to keep officials of Taxation departments in good humour by giving them gifts on various occasions, obliging them by lending cars, by sending tickets of some important functions, etc. Honest officials are also trapped by such subtle means of corrupt influence.

*Santhanam Committee Report, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-19.

Perception of Corruption in Various Departments (Sections) in Private Bureaucracy

There is marked difference between the perceptions of public and private bureaucrats regarding corruption in various departments. Only 14.3 per cent of the responses from public bureaucracy suggest no corruption, while 59.8 per cent of the responses from private bureaucracy imply no corruption.

Table 6 : 2—Absence of Corruption Perceived

<i>Government</i>	<i>Industries</i>
129	493
(14.3)	(59.8)
N=900 responses	N=825 responses
N=300 respondents	N=275 respondents

A majority of the respondents do not feel that there is corruption in the private bureaucracies. Private bureaucratic organizations are owned by individuals or groups of individuals. It is not as abstract as government bureaucracy is and it is possible to identify the benefiter and the extent of profit which accrues to them. Partly, the close, well-knit coordination and relatively smaller size of the industrial set-up make it structurally difficult to adopt corrupt practices. The fear of being detected and its consequent possible punishment also deter a bureaucrat since there is direct and closer supervision in private bureaucracy. Thus the ethos and atmosphere of work in private bureaucracy lead to such a process of socialization that bureaucrats are put under certain pressure to conform to norms of bureaucratic functioning as evolved and sanctioned by the organization. In private bureaucracy public dealing is limited. The reason which is sociologically significant is the structural differentiation related to power in public and private bureaucracy. Public bureaucracy has a power structure which controls all significant aspects of life in a society. Corruption presupposes the existence of public officials with power to choose between two or more courses of

action.³⁰ Thus structural differences related to power can explain the variation in the corruption between public and private bureaucracies.

The departments which have been considered amenable to corruption are as under :

Table 6:3—Departments Perceived to be More Corrupt in Private Bureaucracy

<i>Department</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Number of Responses</i>
1. Purchase	14.1	116
2. Stores	9.1	75
3. Sales	7.3	60
4. Accounts and Finance	2.7	22
5. Security	2.2	18
6. Personnel	1.4	12
7. Construction	1.2	10
8. General administration	0.8	7
9. Despatch	0.8	7
10. Publicity	0.2	2
11. Labour	0.2	2
12. Scraps	0.1	1
13. No corruption	59.8	493
	<hr/> 99.9 <hr/>	<hr/> 825 <hr/>

Purchase, stores, and sales are considered such departments as have higher corruption as they have dealings with outside agencies. Commission and discount in purchase and sales of articles was reported to have been existing in some cases specially at middle and lower level of private bureaucracy. This explains why in such positions where money, and accounting, etc., are involved in private bureaucracy officials of confidence are posted. Education and selection through other universalistic criteria do not become important as the job needs less of skill and more of personal qualities of faith, reliance, and honesty. Such traits, however, cannot be rationally measured on universalistic basis.

³⁰Peter H. Odeford, 'Political Corruption', *Encyclopedia of Social Sciences*, New York : The Macmillan Co., 1959, p. 449.

Positions in Public Bureaucracy Perceived to be Corrupt

The respondents were asked to mention three such positions which are considered to be corrupt.

**Table 6:4—Responses Signifying Absence of the
Existence of Corrupt Positions**

<i>Public Bureaucracy</i>	<i>Private Bureaucracy</i>
186 responses (20.7 per cent)	436 responses (60.1 per cent)
Total N=900 responses N=300 respondents	Total N=825 responses N=275 respondents

There is three times greater perception of lack of corruption associated with certain positions in the public bureaucracy compared to private.

**Table 6:5—Positions Perceived to be More Corrupt
in Public Bureaucracy**

<i>Positions</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Responses</i>
1. Inspectors (Taxation)	15.2	137
2. Police Inspectors (Thanedars)	14.9	134
3. Engineers	10.4	94
4. Police Officers	7.4	67
5. Sales Tax Officers	6.0	54
6. Clerical Staff	4.6	41
7. Patwaris	3.8	34
8. Ministers	3.4	31
9. Overseers	3.2	29
10. High Official (IAS)	3.0	27
11. Regional Transport Officer	1.1	10
12. Magistrates	1.1	10
13. Doctors	1.0	9
14. Ranger	0.4	4
15. B.D.O.	0.3	3
16. Teachers	0.1	1
17. Other	3.2	29
18. No corruption	20.7	186
	<hr/> 99.8 <hr/>	<hr/> 900 <hr/>

N = 300 respondents, each giving three responses
N = 900 (responses)

Corruption has been considered to be high in the inspectorial positions and amongst engineers. Taxation inspectors and police inspectors have direct public dealings. They have excess of power which is not in consonance with their status and salary. There is no direct or close supervision of their work. In some cases superiors share the bribe.

Teachers have been considered to be least corrupt. It was also reported that there is corruption in judiciary at the lower level, lesser at the middle level, and least at the upper level. A district and sessions judge went on fast for the penance of one of his clerks who had taken bribe.³¹ Corruption in judiciary at lower level is spread throughout the country.³²

In the responses received through interviews corruption amongst ministers was reported to be high. Some doctors said that it was not possible to get transfers and postings without bribing the minister. A transport minister was reported to have accepted bribes openly from bus owners for sanction of permits of different routes. One of the former Chief Ministers has been involved in two major scandals of corruption—'Nathdwara Kand' and 'Gold Kand'. The inquiry commissions, which inquired into the facts, absolved him of charges. A minister confided that every minister in the ministry of Rajasthan is corrupt.

The young IAS officers were reported to be generally honest. One of the young IAS officers remarked :

We are fresh from universities and have commitment to certain ideals and values, which is common to young people. We have been yet not spoiled by our seniors who generally corrupt young officials by example and authority. They are seasoned and have got over the feeling of guilt.

Another young IAS officer remarked :

I do not know about the future. When I have family and have to worry about the education of my children, God knows, if I will be able to keep up my honesty ?

³¹Personally verified from the Judge.

³²Santhanam Committee Report, p. 9.

In private bureaucracy, purchase officer, stores officer, and sales officer were reported to be three such positions which have greater corruption (13.2, 8.1 and 6.4 per cent responses). Other positions have very low percentage of responses and hence are insignificant. In interviews, most of the respondents said that it was a mere guess that these officials take bribes and its authenticity or correctness is doubtful. In private bureaucracy, honesty is recognized and rewarded. Punishment of dishonest official in private bureaucracy is easier while in the public bureaucracy due to elaborate procedures and complicated rules it becomes extremely difficult to punish a dishonest official. There is also direct supervision by top executives and directors in private bureaucracy. Relevant information is also passed on to the top people through reliable informants in private bureaucracy.

Causes of Corruption

Various theoretical explanations have been advanced to explain the phenomenon of corruption. According to Myrdal instability of government and corruption go together. The reason for corruption in South Asian governments is their instability.³³ Governments in India have had stability without coups or even through democratic alternatives. Still corruption has been perceived to be high. Another explanation is intra-structural and relates to bureaucratic functioning. According to the Santhanam Committee Report administrative delay, greater regulatory functions, much scope for personal discretion in the exercise of power and cumbersome procedures, are the major causes of corruption in government.³⁴ To get things expedited bribe is given which has come to be known as 'speed-money'.

Riggs believes that corruption is a necessary concomitant of development.³⁵ Rapid expansion of various development

³³Myrdal, *Asian Drama*, Vol II, *op. cit.*, p. 938.

³⁴Santhanam Committee Report, *op. cit.*, pp 43-45.

³⁵For details see F.W. Riggs, *Administration in Developing Countries*, Boston : Houghton Mifflin Co., 1964.

activities requires huge sums of money part of which comes from foreign countries in the form of aid. There is an increase in the desire for consumption of newer articles which not only provide comforts but are considered new status symbols. Corruption becomes greatly diffused in such a situation. There has been a rapid expansion in the level of aspiration amongst people in the developing societies.

Various factors combine whereby corruption gets subtle institutionalization in the fabric of administration. It would be interesting to analyse the responses of the bureaucrats themselves regarding the causes of corruption. The respondents were asked to give three causes of corruption. Responses to this open ended question were categorized into four substantive types:³⁵ (a) *economic deprivation*, (b) *moral weakness*, (c) *structural strains—societal*, and (d) *structural strains—administrative*. Causes of corruption thus may be structural as well as motivational. The motivation to accept bribe may emanate from the structure of society and sub-structure of bureaucracy. For example, Santhanam Committee reports that where there is power and discretion corruption will increase.³⁷

Table 6:6—Causes of Corruption as Perceived by Bureaucrats and Specialization

<i>Specialization</i>	<i>Economic deprivation</i>	<i>Moral weakness</i>	<i>Structural strains societal</i>	<i>Structural strains administrative</i>	<i>NR</i>	<i>Total</i>
Non-technical	148	265	45	127	240	825
Technical	(17.9)	(32.1)	(5.4)	(15.4)	(29.1)	(99.9)
	155	290	39	93	323	900
	(17.2)	(32.2)	(4.3)	(10.3)	(35.9)	(99.9)
Total	303	555	84	220	563	1725
responses	(17.6)	(32.2)	(4.9)	(12.8)	(32.5)	(100.0)

³⁵The responses have been categorized as following :

Responses like rising prices, increase in wants, economic competition, struggle for standard, were categorized as *economic deprivation*. Responses like low morals, decline in ethical values, no conscience, have been grouped in the category *moral weakness*. Responses like large family, social responsibility, money necessary for dowry and marriage of daughters, public tolerance, have been grouped in the category *structural strains—societal*, while responses like delay, red-tapism, concentration of power, avoidance of responsibility, have been grouped in the category *structural strains—administrative*.

³⁷Santhanam Committee Report, *op cit*, p. 9.

Of the responses 32.2 per cent relate corruption to moral weakness, while structural factors in terms of economic deprivations (17.6 per cent), structural strains—administrative (12.8 per cent), and structural strains—societal (4.9 per cent) together account for 36.3 per cent of the responses.

Moral weakness has been considered a result of a number of factors some of which are being discussed here.

1. *Crisis in Values*: Moral weakness results from crises in values in a changing society. It has been said that crisis situations in a nation can lead to formation of high character. During pre-independence era many politicians and freedom fighters had made unprecedented sacrifices. Immediately after independence there was a great opportunity to keep up the great moral upsurge, whereby the commitment to high morals could have been institutionalized. This however did not happen.

2. *New Economic Goals without Complementary and Appropriate Moral Norms*: New goals were emphasized in terms of economic development, better standard of living, eradication of poverty and emphasis on increasing national income. The over-emphasis on goals and lack of the development of appropriate norms whereby the goals could be achieved resulted into adoption of means which were not institutionalized. Traditional society is in the process of modernization. Status is being measured through economic success rather than traditional indices specially in urban areas. These values have led to emergence of a situation in which there is a scramble for acquisition of glittering prizes irrespective of the means adopted.³¹

3. *Elite as Creator of Values*: Elites set norms which get diffused in the masses. Politicians very soon got degenerated by the use of corrupt means. Many in the bureaucracy had silently admired the self-sacrificing patriots as heroes but in close proximity they saw the reality as deception.³² It was found that the principal aim of politicians was to retain power. Retention of power in a society which is large, diverse, and

³¹Monteiro, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

³²S. C. Dube, 'Bureaucracy and Nation Building in Transitional Societies', Paper submitted in Kyrenia, Cyprus (17-26 April, 1963).

heterogeneous is a complex phenomenon. Money was needed to retain power. Election campaigns became abnormally expensive. Most of those who have been in the politics in India do not have any established sources of regular income on which they could fall back after leaving politics or after having failed to get into it. Politician-ministers get used to certain ways of life. A shift to lesser convenient life becomes strenuous once one gets used to a comfortable living standard. Politicians thus became hand in glove with the industrialists and businessmen who, in turn, got several benefits in the era of rapid industrial expansion.

However, as Douglas says, the relationship between political leaders and the people is a reciprocal one. The standards of the people influence those of public officials and it is hard to develop honest officials in a corrupt society. But it is equally true that high standards on the part of officials and public leaders raise the level of the whole of the society.⁴⁰ The old system of values has thus weakened but no effective system of new values has emerged. This has led to a crisis in the value system and consequent decline of moral standards.⁴¹ When general societal changes take place at a higher speed without consequent adequate and consistent change in the value system, there is imbalance resulting into deviance at general societal level.

⁴⁰Paul H. Douglas, *Ethics in Government*, Godkin Lectures at Harvard University, Cambridge : Harvard University Press, 1952, pp. 69-72.

⁴¹One interesting phenomenon which has been found in the analysis of interviews is association of sacred and non-rational belief with the indulgence in corrupt practices. A bureaucrat remarked that he has lost his only son as he has been habitually taking bribes. A serious illness, a complaint, an inquiry, unexpected financial losses were other misfortunes considered to be the result of taking bribe. The theory of Karma leads to a belief in some Hindus that money earned through unethical means leads to misfortune and grief even in this life. The impact of general socio-cultural ethos which have traditionally persisted can be easily discerned even on those aspects of human behaviour which take place in rational secular organization.

Economic Deprivation

Economic deprivation can have two meanings. On the one hand, it implies those deprivations whereby a person is not able to maintain himself and his family in terms of normal standard of living. On the other hand, it raises desires for consumption of new articles which sustain comfort and enhance standard of living. For those who are better off extravagant habits and life of conspicuous consumption require acquisition of more money than available through salaries.

Sheer poverty was not considered a significant cause for corruption in the responses through interviews. Values of higher standards of living and pressure of consumption of certain articles which have diffused at the cultural level, have been considered more potent factors for taking illegal money.

Structural Strains—Administrative

The in-built rigidity of bureaucracy created various obstacles for clients who offer bribes to the official to get free from the bureaucratic web of varied and complex rules and procedures. Administrative delays and red-tapism are known universal phenomena in the public bureaucracy in India. The public bureaucracy does not yet feel responsible to the citizen but expects him to be responsible.

Structural strains—administrative are the result of many factors : (a) In Rajasthan well formulated procedures did not exist in many States prior to administrative integration. After integration rules and procedures were framed rather hurriedly. (b) Developmental activities and expansion of administrative tasks led to multiplicity of rules and procedures. (c) Lack of coordination, duplication, absence of proper filing system and untrained bureaucratic personnel, were some of the other factors which have contributed to red-tapism and delay. (d) Absence of any scientific study of the causes of administrative delay and public tolerance of it have helped

its continuance. The alternative to getting matters delayed was to offer speed-money or to make use of personal particularistic relationship.

Structural Strains—Societal

Social pressures like joint family system and consequent obligations towards the members of family, custom of giving dowry in marriages, expenses to be incurred as social formality so that a person may not lose status, have been other causes which have induced the bureaucrats to accept bribe.

Some bureaucrats thought that wives are responsible for bribery. Psychologically the role of wives in making husbands corrupt is very interesting. The 'Times of India', dated 10th July 1968, in its editorial 'Wives to Blame' has made interesting comments on the report of the Malaysian anti-corruption agency which has discovered that wives drive their husbands to accept bribes.⁴²

Public and private bureaucrats differ significantly in responses to corruption in their respective bureaucracies.

Table 6:7—Causes of Corruption and Type

Type	Economic deprivation	Moral weakness	Structural strains societal	Structural strains administrative	NR	Total
Public	214 (23.8)	372 (41.3)	69 (7.7)	155 (17.2)	90 (10.0)	900 (100.0)
Private	89 (10.8)	183 (22.2)	15 (1.8)	65 (7.9)	473 (57.3)	825 (100.0)

⁴²The editorial 'Wives to Blame', Times of India, July 10, 1968. As if in the justification the Malaysian Anti-corruption Agency has discovered, no doubt after extensive enquiry, that wives are driving their husbands, who are in government employment to accepting bribes. But this is first time perhaps that an official charge has been made that one's spouse must take the rap for one's questionable deals. In Malaysia some of these employees accept bribes, it is said, as a result of their wives' attitude. If the neighbour buys a new car, the wife thinks her husband too must buy a car forgetting that his income is limited. The poor chap's only recourse then is to do the shady things. These men have more than one wife, polygamy being permitted by law—shudderable complication, since the temptation to accept bribe is doubled, trebled or quadrupled. The only solution is to ban marriages it would be easier than to banishing corruption.

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Minor deviations can take many forms. Even honest and young IAS officers, when intending to purchase certain articles for domestic use like refrigerator, cooler, radio etc., have tried to get concession through their subordinate officers. A high police official having reputation of honesty was reported to have been accepting gifts in the form of tins of ghee and bags of wheat not directly but through his wife. She would further instruct the gift-giver not to disclose the fact to her husband-officer.

Executives in industries keep on sending gifts on various occasions to such officers through whom they obtain sanctions for certain work. A senior industrial executive narrated an interesting incident about the way he obtained alphonzo mangoes locally and got them parcelled in such a manner and style so as to make it appear as if they have been ordered and transported from Bombay. All this was done as the wife of the Secretary for Industries had asked him to get these mangoes from Bombay.

Most of the high officials, whenever necessary, arrange their official tour, so as to make it coincide with completion of their personal work, like attending the wedding of a relation, visiting ailing friends and relatives, etc. They combine it with official business which really may not exist. These minor deviations have been institutionalized and have become so much part of the system that non-conformity to such institutionalized normalcy of deviance may evoke surprise and pity rather than admiration.

Extent of Using Official Articles for Personal Purposes

According to Weber, ownership of means of production or administration, which is to be used for official purposes and the personal property of the official have to be separated.⁴⁵

⁴⁵Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, translated by A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons, edited by Talcott Parsons, New York: Free Press, 1968, p. 329.

Of the private bureaucrats 57.3 per cent have given no cause for corruption as in industrial organizations the perception of corruption is low. There is no significant difference in terms of hierarchy.

It should also be stressed here that there are people in government who are not corrupt. It is difficult to locate and identify individual corruption scientifically or to collect information on its extent in any systematic manner.⁴³ We are more concerned with what people imagine and how corruption is perceived by those who are a part of the bureaucratic system working from within.

Honesty is less talked about and is taken for granted. One is prone to listen to spicy gossip and pass it on to others who in turn pass it to others. This has certain consequences. The individual who has been wrongly charged as having taken bribes may be motivated by such false bad reputation to take bribes. After all bad reputation has been earned. At general societal level the impression that corruption is widespread causes damage to the social fabric as this impression gets diffused at the motivational level of a large number of people. This might also make people corrupt. The self-fulfilling prophecy operates.

Minor Corruptions

Minor corruption does not mean acceptance of bribe but use of official position for certain fringe benefits. There are certain explicit privileges or perquisites in bureaucratic organizations which go with certain positions or are given to all in a particular bureaucracy. Loans on low interest, quota reservation in trains, priority in purchase of cars, scooters etc., reservation in hospital wards, full medical reimbursement etc., free telephone, peon, vehicles are legal perquisites which the government bureaucrats enjoy.⁴⁴ These privileges are both recognized and accepted.

⁴³Taub, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

⁴⁴Taub, *op. cit.*, pp. 144-147.

Use of Servants for Personal Purposes

As a legacy of erstwhile administration, a large number of servants known as Class IV are employed in the offices. Use of peons for personal purposes was reported to be high during the pre-independence era and immediately after independence. It is still high in districts and smaller places. In big cities, however, they have become more conscious of their rights and have organized themselves by forming associations. Some bureaucrats remarked that peons now-a-days do not fear any one and even legitimate work is not properly performed by them. They feel that introduction of democracy and equality, without its functional prerequisites in terms of education and sense of responsibility, has spoiled the lower sections of the society.

Facility of peons was reported to be one of the considerations for some bureaucrats in a particular type of posting. It would be interesting to mention the observations of an aged bureaucrat in this connection. He says :

Since servants do not easily agree to work at residence—unless there are some compulsions, for example the fear of termination of temporary service—temptation of extra-money, food and accommodation are given. Some peons refuse to do certain types of work. For example they refuse to wash plates in which food has been eaten and undergarments of ladies. Use of servants provides relief to ladies at home and enhances their prestige in the eyes of other ladies. Hence the wives desire the facility of servants the most.⁴⁷

Use of Stationery

Functioning in bureaucracy necessitates expression of views and decision in writing. In a complex organization records are required to be maintained systematically. This all requires various articles of stationery like pencils, holders, nibs, paper,

⁴⁷This attitude is associated with the concept of purity and pollution amongst Hindus. Ladies are considered impure during menstruation period among Hindus.

However, it is true that official articles are used for personal purposes by various bureaucrats.

In this connection responses to the frequency of using stationery, vehicles, and peons for personal purposes were ascertained. Files, pencils, carbon papers etc., in government offices bear engraved marking 'Government of Rajasthan', chairs, almirahs, fans etc., are also numbered and marked for identification. One of the attractions of taking up a government job are certain fringe benefits. During the regime of princely rulers, petty officials had enough powers in tehsils and villages. Many articles were obtained without purchasing them. A plethora of servants would work at residences. After independence due to the necessity of reaching villages for the performance of developmental work vehicles were supplied in large numbers to various departments. In districts, use of government vehicles for personal purposes has been reported to be very high. Taub's study in the capital city of a State also reveals common use of government vehicles for personal purposes.⁴⁶

In the capital city of Jaipur, officers in the Secretariat have generally their own personal vehicles. State garage cars, bearing the name plate of Government of Rajasthan, are used generally by ministers. A member of a minister's family remarked :

Official car is used for various personal purposes—children go to school, grown ups to colleges, women go for shopping and cinema and all sorts of guests from constituency use it.

Though there is a procedural check to regulate the proper use of vehicles for official purposes through the maintaining of the log-book etc., deviant users become adepts in manipulating it in such a way that hardly any audit objections are raised.

⁴⁶Taub, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

have generally less administrative authority, their executive powers being limited. Being in younger age group and having less experience they do not know the shady aspects of administration. This comes only gradually.

Table 6 : 10—Personal Use of Official Articles and Type

<i>Type</i>	<i>Peon</i>	<i>Vehicle</i>	<i>Stationery</i>
Public	2.52	2.27	2.22
Private	1.65	1.68	1.93

In private bureaucracies the personal use of peons, vehicles, and stationery is very low. The number of peons in industrial concern is comparatively low. A middle rank bureaucrat remarked :

In the government peons carry files of such weight and volume which officer himself could carry with him. On tours peons accompany the officials. Even in journey by train the peon accompanies the officer, and gets down at every station to inquire if the Saheb needs anything.

Such an attitude and practice has roots in feudal culture and is a colonial legacy related to public bureaucracy. In private bureaucracy use of vehicles for personal purposes is confined to the top executives for whom the company officially provides cars. The low perception of the use of these articles is due to structural differences in the public and private concerns which have different goals to achieve. There is close supervision in private bureaucracy, while in the public bureaucracy the impersonal nature of supervision and inadequate control lead to more frequent and widespread deviations.

Perception of Inefficiency

Bureaucracy has technical superiority over any other form of organization.⁵⁹ The positive attainments of bureaucratic organization have been overemphasized by various scholars

⁵⁹Weber, *From Max Weber : Essays in Sociology, op. cit.*, p 214.

files, etc., which are provided to the office for carrying on work. There are rules for proper handling of stationery.⁴⁸

A bureaucrat remarked :

Printed forms with blank reverses have been found to be used by the school and college going children of lower officials.

The perception of the frequency of using office articles for personal purposes is being given below :⁴⁹

Table 6:8—Personal Use of Official Articles and Hierarchy

<i>Hierarchy</i>	<i>Peon</i>	<i>Vehicle</i>	<i>Stationery</i>
Upper	2.17	2.02	1.94
Middle	2.03	1.97	2.02
Lower	2.12	1.98	2.16

Perception of the use of peons is highest amongst upper bureaucrats. Middle and lower hierarchies perceive use of stationery as highest. Perception regarding use of vehicles is also highest amongst upper bureaucrats. This can be explained on the basis of formation of perception on one's actual experiences.

Table 6:9—Personal Use of Official Articles and Specialization

<i>Hierarchy</i>	<i>Peon</i>	<i>Vehicle</i>	<i>Stationery</i>
Non-technical	2.17	2.03	2.08
Technical	2.04	1.95	1.68

Technical people have a comparatively low perception regarding the misuse of office articles. Technical personnel

⁴⁸See *Secretariat Manual, Government of Rajasthan*, Jaipur : Government of Rajasthan, 1959, pp. 122-124.

⁴⁹The question asked was : What is the frequency of using office articles and services (using office stationery, peons, vehicles, etc) for personal purposes ?

Very frequently/Frequently/Less frequently/Least frequently

Stationery

Peon

Vehicles

Scores were assigned (4, 3, 2, 1 in that order) to the responses. The indexing of the score was done on the formula $\text{Score } 3/n$.

Lack of Initiative

Of the bureaucrats studied 69.7 per cent consider lack of initiative as a factor responsible for inefficiency, while 30.3 per cent of the respondents consider it not important. Initiative is a personality trait. When put into action, it results into quicker completion of tasks. Of the public bureaucrats 80.3 per cent consider lack of initiative as a factor in inefficiency while 58.2 per cent of the private bureaucrats think so. In public bureaucracy due to certain structural constraints initiative in decision making and shouldering of responsibility are avoided or passed on to another or next hierarchy. Besides, there is no tangible reward or recognition for those who accomplish things quickly by their initiative. This kills the spirit of initiative. One of the causes of lack of initiative is the fear of making a wrong decision and consequent explanations which might be asked for. Initiative is also lost as a plethora of rules and regulations kills the spirit of adventure and independence of action. Structurally and historically government bureaucracy has shown resistance to change. It has been rigid. In the private bureaucracy the quality of initiative is valued. Quite often the advertisements for jobs in industries require drive and initiative as necessary qualifications for applicants.

Lack of Competence

Of the bureaucrats studied, 61.2 per cent consider high relationship between lack of competence and inefficiency while 38.8 per cent perceive a low relationship between the two. Of the public bureaucrats 69.7 per cent perceive high relationship between the two while 52.0 per cent of the private bureaucrats consider so. The bureaucrats in industries consider lack of competence also as a lesser factor of inefficiency, compared to the bureaucrats in government. In government, though

while the internal strains and stresses of such structures have been neglected.⁵¹ One of the dysfunctional aspects of bureaucracy is its inefficiency. The study of the perception of inefficiency is important because of its various ramifications. First, inefficiency is related to the operative part of bureaucratic system; second, it affects realization of goals; third, it does not lead to any personal gain as in the case of corruption, yet it leads to the loss to the client in the realization of his goals. Lastly, inefficiency is difficult to be directly located and punished since it is widespread and interlinked between a number of individuals and departments. In the present study the factors which have been delineated for the analysis of inefficiency can be categorised into three types: (a) factors related to personality in which we have included, 'lack of initiative' and 'lack of competence', (b) administrative factors, which include, 'improper procedure', 'lack of coordination' and 'too much work', (c) factors related to structural strains which include, 'bad human relations', 'groupism', 'communalism' and 'political interference'.

Factors Related to Personality and Inefficiency

Factors related to initiative and competence of the bureaucrats emphasize the internal dynamics of the personality in relation to inefficiency.

Table 6:11—Relationship of Personality Factors with Inefficiency

Personality factors	Nature of relationship		Significance in relation to variables		
	High	Low	Hierarchy	Specialisation	Type
Lack of initiative	401 (69.7)	174 (30.3)	Not significant $\chi^2_1=2.05$ $P < 0.50$	Not significant $\chi^2_1=0.05$ $P < 0.90$	Significant $\chi^2_1=33.36$ $P < 0.001$
Lack of competence	352 (61.2)	223 (38.8)	Not significant $\chi^2_1=1.77$ $P < 0.50$	Not significant $\chi^2_1=0.94$ $P < 0.50$	Significant $\chi^2_1=18.86$ $P < 0.001$

⁵¹Merton, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

Table 6:12—Relationship of Administrative Factors with Inefficiency

Factor	Nature of relationship		Significance in relation to variables		
	High	Low	Hierarchy	Specialization	Type
Improper procedure	371 (64.5)	204 (35.5)	Not significant $\chi^2_1=2.91$ $P < 0.30$	Significant $\chi^2_1=7.35$ $P < 0.01$	Not significant $\chi^2_1=0.61$ $P < 0.50$
Lack of coordination	391 (68.0)	184 (32.0)	Not significant $\chi^2_1=0.96$ $P < 0.70$	Significant $\chi^2_1=8.20$ $P < 0.01$	Significant $\chi^2_1=9.25$ $P < 0.01$
Too much work	240 (41.7)	335 (58.3)	Not significant $\chi^2_1=2.31$ $P < 0.30$	Not significant $\chi^2_1=1.49$ $P < 0.30$	Significant $\chi^2_1=5.14$ $P < 0.02$

Improper Procedure

Of the bureaucrats studied 64.5 per cent consider improper procedure highly related to inefficiency while 35.5 per cent perceive a low relation between the two. Rules and procedures which are inadequately formulated lead to inefficiency. Rules can become an end in themselves and lose sight of human aspects. Rules originally conceived as means become transformed into an end-in-itself. There occurs the process of displacement of goals whereby 'an instrumental value becomes a terminal value'.⁵⁴ Rules have been reportedly formulated not only to deal with a new or unanticipated situation or policy but even to adjust decisions in favour of a particular person. Complicated, elaborate, contradictory and ill-conceived procedures thus tend to create inefficiency. Of the non-technical bureaucrats 58.9 per cent and 69.7 per cent of the technical

⁵⁴Merton, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

recruitment is made on well known factors which are universalistic and specific, in actuality expedient factors which are particularistic may influence the process of selection. Recruitment through competitive examination for high government positions, however, has been considered generally fair. In the private bureaucracy, rationally formulated formal procedures may not exist and people might get jobs on the basis of recommendations of influential persons (specially non-technical jobs). The factors of competence can only be partially judged in the interview for selection. But after entry in the job structural components of private bureaucracy impinge upon its personnel to work in a competent manner. Acquisition of worth through work is encouraged. In private bureaucracy premium is put on competence as it directly affects the career pattern of the bureaucrats. The level of competence required can be acquired with effort and desire, with certain marginal differences. Goode has argued that organizations of modern industrial societies are efficient not because they hire the most able but because they use the inept more efficiently.⁶¹

Administrative Factors and Inefficiency

Administrative factors are related to the formalized procedures within bureaucratic organization. Devotion to rules may lead to their transformation into absolutes.⁶² Lack of coordination on the other hand may lead to confusion and delay and too much work may sap energy for normal functioning. These factors related to conditions which are part of the system of administration and thus lie within it.

⁶¹See W.J. Goode, 'The Protection of the Inept', *American Sociological Review*, Vol 32, No. 1, 1967, pp. 5-19.

⁶²Merton, *op. cit*, p. 200.

departments. This is mainly due to two factors : (1) badly designed organizational set up, (2) lack of proper motivation to conform to the established procedures.

Of the public bureaucrats, 73.7 per cent and 61.8 per cent of the private bureaucrats perceive a high relationship between lack of coordination and inefficiency. In government the number of departments and persons recruited have immensely multiplied. In most of the cases there has been a lack of anticipatory systematic planning about the number of personnel and units needed. Lack of coordination increases as departments and rules multiply. In private bureaucracy the process of decision making is more direct and less formal. Not everything is required to be given in writing. Telex helps in quick decisions as it becomes possible to contact the directors who may be at a long distance at the Head Office.

Too Much Work

Only 41.7 per cent of the bureaucrats consider too much work a cause of inefficiency, while 58.3 per cent do not think so. Of the public bureaucrats 38.0 per cent and 45.8 per cent of the private bureaucrats consider relationship between too much work and inefficiency high.

Extent and burden of work differ from department to department and also from one period of time to another. There is seasonal and cyclical variation in work. During the closing of the financial year (March 31), during the time when the Assembly is in session, in certain emergency situations like floods or famines, the extent of work is higher in public bureaucracy. It was reported that generally public bureaucrats do less work than what is required of them. It was reported that very few government employees put in hard work in office and carry files to home. Only some people have made it a habit to work regularly. They do not take leave or a 'day-off'. 'During holidays also they go to the office and feel uneasy if they have to remain at home', remarked a bureaucrat. On the whole too much work is not

bureaucrats perceive a high relationship between improper procedure and inefficiency. Technical bureaucrats have a feeling that much of their training is wasted as they get involved in routine administrative work and its procedural inadequacies. These officials find rules and procedures as obstacles to completion of tasks. For general administrators rules become an end in themselves. Certain rules which may be procedurally right are rationally wrong. Multiplication of rules in government has caused greater difficulty.

It is with certain strain that the technical bureaucrat is socialized into the procedural functioning of administration. There is dilemma and ambivalence between the use of technical know-how for which the technical bureaucrat has been trained and the need for procedural conformity which the administrative structure demands.

Lack of Coordination

Of the bureaucrats 68.0 per cent perceive high relationship between lack of coordination and inefficiency while 32 per cent of the bureaucrats perceive low relationship. Coordination is necessary between various units for effective and efficient functioning. With expansion of government functions and increased production in industries, the need for proper coordination has assumed a great significance. In fact administration necessitates coordination between officials of different hierarchies, different departments, different sections within the department, different people of same or similar hierarchy, and specialists and generalists.

Of the non-technical bureaucrats 62.2 per cent and 73.3 per cent of the technical bureaucrats perceive high relationship between lack of coordination and inefficiency. The technical people reported that there is lack of rational coordination between them and the non-technical personnel.

Many bureaucrats try to get things done through informal ways due to lack of proper coordination between different

departments. This is mainly due to two factors - (1) badly designed organizational set up, (2) lack of proper motivation to conform to the established procedures.

Of the public bureaucrats, 73.7 per cent and 61.8 per cent of the private bureaucrats perceive a high relationship between lack of coordination and inefficiency. In government the number of departments and persons recruited have immensely multiplied. In most of the cases there has been a lack of anticipatory systematic planning about the number of personnel and units needed. Lack of coordination increases as departments and rules multiply. In private bureaucracy the process of decision making is more direct and less formal. Not everything is required to be given in writing. Telex helps in quick decisions as it becomes possible to contact the directors who may be at a long distance at the Head Office.

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considered to be a cause of inefficiency. However, more bureaucrats in industries feel that it does lead to inefficiency. The hours of work are longer in industries and greater emphasis is laid on punctuality.⁵⁵ When production targets are to be achieved, there is greater stress on work.

Factors Related to Structural Strains and Inefficiency

Factors related to structural strains, different from the formal aspect of bureaucratic organization, arise and impinge upon bureaucratic functioning. Four such factors have been delineated for analysis in the present study. They are 'bad human relations', 'groupism', 'communalism' and 'political interference'.

Table 6: 13—Relationship of Factors of Structural Strains with Inefficiency

<i>Factor</i>	<i>Nature of relationship</i>		<i>Significance in relation to variables</i>		
	<i>High</i>	<i>Low</i>	<i>Hierarchy</i>	<i>Specialization</i>	<i>Type</i>
<i>Structural strains</i>					
Bad human relations	265 (46.1)	310 (53.9)	Not significant $\chi^2=0.26$ $P < 0.90$	Significant at 5 per cent $\chi^2=4.55$ $P < 0.05$	Significant $\chi^2=10.40$ $P < 0.001$
Groupism	290 (50.4)	285 (49.6)	Not significant $\chi^2=1.004$ $P < 0.70$	Significant $\chi^2=10.81$ $P < 0.001$	Not significant $\chi^2=0.1$ $P < 0.70$
Communalism	183 (31.8)	392 (68.2)	Not significant $\chi^2=1.68$ $P < 0.50$	Significant at 5 per cent $\chi^2=4.26$ $P < 0.05$	Not significant $\chi^2=0.01$ $P < 0.90$
Political interference	310 (53.9)	265 (46.1)	Not significant $\chi^2=0.12$ $P < 0.95$	Significant $\chi^2=2.95$ $P < 0.10$	Significant $\chi^2=79.57$ $P < 0.001$

⁵⁵The timings for work in private bureaucracy are from 8 a.m. to 5 p.m. with break for lunch for an hour.

Bad Human Relations

Of the bureaucrats studied, 46.1 per cent consider bad human relations related to inefficiency while 53.9 per cent do not perceive it to be so. Work in bureaucracy rationally is required to be based on 'formalistic impersonality'. In actuality bias, prejudice, likes, dislikes operate at interpersonal relationship. Such extraneous considerations which are inconsistent with the rational system of bureaucracy but normal to the personality system of an individual affect in turn the effective functioning of bureaucracy.

Of the non-technical bureaucrats, 41.4 per cent and 50.3 per cent of the technical bureaucrats perceive high relationship between bad human relations and inefficiency. Technical bureaucrats have higher perception of this phenomenon. Technical bureaucrats feel that there is greater interference from non-technical bureaucrats who have greater powers of decision-making. Of the public bureaucrats, 39.7 per cent and 53.1 per cent of the private bureaucrats conceive a high relationship between bad human relations and inefficiency. In industries one is required to be more strict in supervision of work. In government there is greater indifference to task-performance and the bosses do not want to displease subordinates by being harsh or by taking disciplinary action. One public bureaucrat remarked that it is difficult to take disciplinary action against even inefficient subordinates due to procedural complications and possibility of political interference. They become indifferent which affects performance of goals. In industries one has to be a hard task master which creates ill will. The power position, specially at the upper level, changes quite frequently with the result that smooth human relationships get disturbed. In concern 'K' recently an experiment was made whereby decisions were arrived at by joint, free and frank discussions of all the members working in a department. After four months of the experiment, it was given up.

Groupism

In the present study 50.4 per cent of the bureaucrats consider groupism a factor which leads to inefficiency while

49.6 per cent do not consider it so. As some bureaucrats spent a good deal of time in group formations and groupism with their consequent repercussions the work efficiency suffers. Secret or open rivalries lead to certain amount of psychic tension affecting normal work behaviour. Real or false anxiety and fears also affect the work. The extent and basis of groupism differ from department to department and was reported to exist more because of certain individuals. Groupism exists within some departments on the basis of work specialization vs generalism. In the present study 43.3 per cent of the non-technical bureaucrats and 57.0 per cent of the technical bureaucrats consider the relationship between groupism and inefficiency high. Belongingness to specialist and generalist groups creates a high chasm between the two the perception of which runs high amongst the specialists as they tend to be relatively deprived in terms of authority.

Communalism

The perception of communalism as a factor in inefficiency has been considered of lesser significance. Only 31.8 per cent of the bureaucrats consider communalism to be an important factor in the inefficiency, while 68.2 per cent do not consider it to be so. Communal feelings on the basis of Hindu and Muslim religions are low in bureaucracy. In some government offices caste feelings were reported to exist. In private bureaucracy some people thought that the members of the caste or community of the managing director are favoured. Of the non-technical 27.6 per cent and 35.7 per cent of the technical bureaucrats reported a high relationship between inefficiency and communalism.

Political Interference

Of the bureaucrats studied 53.9 per cent perceive political interference to be a cause of inefficiency while 46.1 per cent of them perceive a low relationship between the two. Of the public bureaucrats 71.7 per cent and 34.5 per cent of the private bureaucrats conceive a high relationship between the two. In

developing nations which have got freedom from long and continuous colonial rule, the political elites are at the helm of the affairs. Initially political interference was concerned with expediting schemes of welfare and development, and breaking the rigidity of administration. There was an initial enthusiasm for improving things and for implementing nation-building programmes. Later on interference became more an aspect of power-politics.

The higher bureaucrats keep aloof from the masses. Elected politicians are easily accessible. Increasingly politicians have retained decision-making powers with them. Interference takes place in minor and major aspects of administration depending on the politician's own influence. It was reported that in matters of transfer political interference has been very frequent and widespread. Nationalization of bus-routes, opening of schools or colleges, allocation of funds for famine are some of the areas of major importance where political interference takes place. In matters related to sanction of licences, selection by Rajasthan Public Service Commission, approval of tenders, shielding people who have committed some wrong, etc., ministers have been approached by various people. One bureaucrat remarked :

Right from top industrialists down to the 'pan-wala' of the constituency has direct personal access to the minister.

The techniques of interference are formal or informal, direct or circuitous, depending upon the bureaucrat with whom the minister has to deal. Young IAS officers were reported to be initially resistant and touchy about political interference. But gradually they get used to it. An IAS officer remarked :

In almost all matters the politicians have the final say.

This sums up the power position of the bureaucrat.

Structural Deviant Factors and Dysfunctions of Bureaucracy

Structural deviant factors are external to the dimensions of personality system of the individual actors and form various

parts of the bureaucratic system which are interrelated. We have delineated here the following structural deviant factors in relation to the dysfunctions of bureaucracy :

- (1) formation of cliques and groupism;
- (2) incidence of favouritism;
- (3) incidence of non-rational factors in promotion; and
- (4) perception of negative consequences of political interference in administration.

Some of these factors have been earlier discussed in relation to inefficiency while here they are being discussed in terms of their broad and general impact on bureaucratic dysfunctions.

Table 6:14—Structural Deviant Factors and Dysfunctions in Bureaucracy

<i>Factor</i>	<i>Nature of relationship</i>		<i>Significance in relation to variables</i>		
	<i>High</i>	<i>Low</i>	<i>Hierarchy</i>	<i>Specialization</i>	<i>Type</i>
<i>Structural deviant factors</i>					
Incidence of groupism	352 (61.2)	223 (38.8)	Not significant $\chi^2_1=1.83$ $P < 0.50$	Significant $\chi^2_1=10.96$ $P < 0.001$	Not significant $\chi^2_1=0.16$ $P < 0.70$
Incidence of favouritism	447 (77.7)	128 (22.3)	Not significant $\chi^2_1=1.24$ $P < 0.70$	Not significant $\chi^2_1=0.58$ $P < 0.50$	Not significant $\chi^2_1=1.35$ $P < 0.30$
Non-rational factors in promotion	306 (53.2)	269 (46.8)	Not significant $\chi^2_1=1.05$ $P < 0.70$	Not significant $\chi^2_1=0.37$ $P < 0.70$	Significant $\chi^2_1=43.34$ $P < 0.001$

Structural Deviant Factor : Groupism

One of the important factors related to the dysfunctional aspect of bureaucracy is the formation of cliques and groupism. Spontaneous formation of informal groups need not be dysfunctional despite the fact that formalistic impersonality is an ideal-typical characteristic related to maximization of efficiency. Such group formation is normal outcome of continuous meeting of different people. The basis and goals of such group are not related to administrative work, though incidentally and effortlessly it might influence that in some cases. In the case of cliques and groupism the very basis of their formation is realization of certain goals directly related to administration. The goals pursued are either in contradiction to defined organizational goals or the means adopted are different from recognized means. The basis of such groupism is basically one's interest. It can find expression through an extraneous factor which provides a common link for easy identification. Thus the basis of groupism is both dependent upon the external societal phenomena rooted in wider social system as well as on the internal dynamics of bureaucracy as a sub-system. Internal dynamics leading to groupism differ from office to office. Interest groups which cut across considerations of caste, community and region appear to dominate in bureaucracies. Regionalism does not appear to be a significant determinant in group formation according to responses analysed.

In this study 61.2 per cent of the respondents believe that incidence of groupism is high while 38.8 per cent of the respondents believe it to be low. Mostly groupism was the result of internal dynamics of an organization or department. It was primarily reported to exist on interest or as a counter threat to the belief in the existence of some group which could threaten one's position. Such a belief may be both real or false but exaggerated information of group functioning as a clique was mutually passed on through certain channels. This led to further accentuation of cliquish activities to the personal detriment of individuals involved and organizational smooth functioning.

Table 6: 15—Incidence of Groupism

<i>Specialization</i>	<i>High</i>	<i>Low</i>	<i>Total</i>
Non-technical	149 (54.2)	126 (45.8)	275 (100.0)
Technical	203 (67.7)	97 (32.3)	300 (100.0)
Total	352 (61.2)	223 (38.8)	575 (100.0)

$$\chi^2_{11} = 10.99 \quad P < 0.001$$

Of the non-technical 54.2 per cent and 67.7 per cent of the technical bureaucrats have high perception of groupism. Technical people have higher perception of the incidence of groupism. One basis of groupism is unionism of technical people against the non-technical, because of felt authority deprivation. Technical people in private bureaucracy get quick promotions and increments. This leads to still higher aspiration and when some get increments and promotions and erstwhile equals do not, it leads to formation of cliques. There is greater mobility amongst technical bureaucrats and they try to keep on moving. Desire and effort to move out instils in them a sense of alienation which is compensated by strong identification with a group. This provides a sense of self-confidence. Such clique formation can lead to disintegrative consequences both for the personality system of an individual as well as the bureaucratic system.

Structural Deviant Factor :

Favouritism

Favouritism has direct consequence for an official. Positively it leads to benefits to one who does not rationally deserve them, and negatively, it leads to certain deprivations to others. Favouritism can take place in matters related to recruitment, promotion, postings and transfers. It can also operate when certain fringe facilities and discretionary benefits are given to some. Negatively its operation in terms of bias and prejudice, as a result of non-rational evaluation, can lead to certain deprivations to officials.

have a high perception of non-rational factors in promotion in bureaucracy. Bureaucracy constitutes a life-long career based on hierarchical division where people are placed in terms of unequal official status and authority. In government most of the positions are filled by direct recruitment and only a limited number of posts are filled through promotion. In government merit-cum-seniority formula has been adopted, but largely it is seniority which determines promotion in government. In private bureaucracy factors like efficiency, the advantage one can bring to the industry irrespective of the means used, confidence in the official, determine promotion. Confidence in a subordinate is a specific criterion the evaluation of which differs from person to person, hence it is a subjective phenomenon.

Little more than half of the bureaucrats consider that non-rational factors are highly important in promotion. In private concerns it is believed that work and merit have greater chances of recognition. In government, political contacts count a great deal in promotion. Politicians have favoured such high officials by giving re-employment and extension in service who have ungrudgingly accepted the decisions of the ministers.

Political System and Dysfunctions of Bureaucracy

Politicians orient their actions to the attainment of power, ideally to use it for the best interests of the nation. In India, in the pre-independence era the administrators had greater concentration of power and were responsible to an alien sovereign. Politicians who fought for the independence of country in this period were opposed to these administrators. After independence the same administrators continued without any significant change in the administrative structure. They were praised by politicians who were now their masters, for helping in tackling some of the pressing problems.

There was an initial adjustment between politicians and administrators. The administrator who had looked upon politicians with great awe and respect was soon disillusioned. There was a great gap between what the politicians preached and what they practised. The politicians became gradually adept in getting things done as they wanted and this led to a considerable strain between the relationship of politicians and administrators. Politicians were responsible for the formulation of policy as well as for making decision. Soon administrators realized the superior powers of the politicians and their potentiality of helping the administrators in terms of posting, promotion, extension of service and jobs after retirement. This was very important for the career bureaucrats. Ultimately administrators and politicians arrived at a perfect understanding which was based on expedient reasons. The superior position of the politicians has been reluctantly recognized and accepted by the bureaucrats. It is true that politics is now commonly considered an avenue to privileges and patronage.⁵⁷ Yet there is a widespread feeling that all holders of political power—great and small alike—are abusing their position for illegitimate ends. It appears to be natural since there is no country whose people do not worry about the private morality of their public leaders.⁵⁸

The nature of political interference in relation to functioning of bureaucracy has many ramifications. It may lead to positive or negative consequences for the bureaucratic functioning. Negatively, it may be used as an instrument to ensure power position by the politicians. This might lead to high particularism in bureaucracy and low morale amongst bureaucrats. Positively, political guidance may be considered necessary for bureaucrats as they have weak incentives to provide good service. Without this bureaucrats tend to safeguard their expedient bureaucratic interests—tenure,

⁵⁷Myrdal, *Asian Drama*, Vol. I, *op. cit.*, p. 292.

⁵⁸W.H. Morris Jones, "India's Political Idioms", in C.H. Philips, *Politics and Society in India*, London : George Allen and Unwin, 1963, pp. 153 and 193.

seniority, fringe benefits, toleration of poor performance, rather than advance the achievement of programme goals.⁵⁹

The consequences of political interference could be positive, negative or neutral.⁶⁰

Table 6:16—Political Interference

Factor	Nature of consequences			Significance		
	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Hierar- chy	Specia- lisa- tion	Type
Structural strains						
Political Inter- ference	68 (11.8)	373 (64.3)	137 (23.8)	Signi- ficant $\chi^2_1 =$ 9.93 P < .01	Not signi- ficant $\chi^2_1 =$ 0.18 P < .70	Signi- ficant $\chi^2_1 =$ 10.49 P < .001

In this study 64.3 per cent of the bureaucrats consider political interference to be of negative consequence, 11.8 per cent consider it to be of positive consequence and 23.8 per cent of neutral consequence. Of the public bureaucrats 81.7 per cent and 45.4 per cent of the private bureaucrats consider political interference to be negative. In public bureaucracy 81.7 per cent of the bureaucrats believe that the political interference has negative consequences on its functioning. The interference of the politicians, which is largely perceived to have negative consequences based on particularistic and specific criteria, is generally not liked by the bureaucrats. On the other hand, political interference curtails the powers of the bureaucrats to which they are almost 'neurotically attached' according to a minister.

In government the interference of ministers and politicians depends upon the way a particular official deals with them and

⁵⁹Riggs, *op. cit.*, pp. 260-85.

⁶⁰The question asked was: Please indicate the nature of political interference in administration. (1) Positive (towards the better), (2) Negative (against the norms of proper administration), (3) Neutral (with no consequences on administration).

also the power position of the minister concerned. One young IAS officer remarked :

A minister told me to transfer a person to a particular post and place. I explained to him that the person is undesirable and hence he could not be transferred. Ultimately it worked.

An IAS officer revealed that he was transferred six times in as many years because of his resistance to ministerial influence. He said :

The last time I was transferred, it was due to a petty patwari who was close to the Deputy Minister of the area. The Deputy Minister met the Chief Minister and he had to accede to his request as the elections were near.

Political interference operates both at the district as well as State level. An IAS officer remarked :

The local politicians are in constant touch with the elite politicians in power. On tours etc., they are more close and free with them than the high bureaucrats. Some politicians meticulously want specific officials for all posts ranging from Patwari to the Collector in their constituencies. This helps them in projecting a better image of themselves through bureaucracy.

Such a bureaucracy tends to get personalized with chances of neutrality being minimized. The attitude with regard to political interference has another dimension also.⁴¹ One bureaucrat remarked :

Politicians are elected representatives of the people. They know their aspirations and needs better. Bureaucrats are indifferent and impersonal in their behaviour. Hence political interference is desirable.

According to yet another official :

Bureaucrats would be more indolent and lethargic, had ministers been not responsible to public. Bureaucracy is indifferent. The high ups amongst the bureaucrats have swollen heads.

There were hardly any complaints of political victimization. The worst which has happened to the bureaucrats is a posting

⁴¹A.R.C. reports : 'Secretaries should have more understanding of the fact that the Minister knows more about the needs and feelings of the people he represents, and has, therefore, not only legal but also a moral right to intervene in administrative decisions'. Administrative Reforms Commission, *Report on the Machinery of the Government of India and its Procedure of Work*, Delhi : 1968, p. 20.

in a remote area or such a non-satisfying posting which does not carry prestige or power.

In private bureaucracy politicians have interfered only on specific occasions. Politicians were reported to have made recommendations for jobs. The acceptance of the recommendation depends on its bargain value. Some positions in the major industries of Rajasthan have been filled up on the recommendations of politicians. Politicians have also been reported to put pressure on industries, at the time of election, for donations and for making available vehicles for election campaigns. Government has also interfered at the time of labour trouble. It does not want labour unrest lest trouble shoots up and violence takes place.

In the present study 67.4 per cent of the upper, 67.5 per cent of the middle and 58.5 per cent of the lower level bureaucrats have negative perception of political interference. The upper and middle bureaucrats thus have higher negative perception of political interference as they are under greater constraints to accept the interference of the politicians which operates maximally at these levels.

On the whole politicians are powerful because of the following reasons :

1. There was no established tradition in bureaucracy in Rajasthan. It was largely feudal and particularistic in orientation in the erstwhile princely States.
2. Elected members of Assembly are responsible for major policy formulation and cabinet of Ministers are responsible for important policy decisions regarding administrative functioning.
3. Ultimate power of decision-making lies in the hands of the Ministers. They have concentrated many powers, of even lesser significance which they use as discretionary favours.
4. The Chief Minister (now former) and a few other Ministers have had long continuity of ministerial tenure, which has enabled them to gain great administrative experience of varied nature and keen knowledge about the intricacies of administration.

5. As bureaucrats gradually gain experience they realize that it is expedient to toe the line of politicians. The high bureaucrats who experience the interference directly feel that the acceptance of what the politicians want might lead to a secured future after retirement and a convenient posting presently.
6. With the widening process of democratization and the greater decentralization of power it is being realized that the elected representatives of the masses have higher responsibility.

The general perception of political interference is, however, negative.

Political interference leads to various disintegrative consequences. Non-rational personalized decisions weaken the fabric of bureaucracy and affect the general morale of officials. It might lead to certain advantages to a few people who have personal loyalty to the politicians. Such people are adept in creating conditions which help the politician to maintain his power equilibrium and ensure success in elections.

In the general societal milieu of democracy, politicians have become important persons. They concentrate highest powers, enjoy high privileges and, thus, are sought after by many.

Summary

The emphasis on the study of dysfunctions assumes greater significance in relation to the role of bureaucracy in planned social change. The dysfunctions of bureaucracy find expression in varied forms. Extent of corruption is one of the significant manifestations of dysfunctions of bureaucratic functioning. The departments of police, public works, and taxation have been considered to be more corrupt. Those departments which have greater public dealings or higher

concentration of power have been reported to be more corrupt. The perception of the extent of corruption in private bureaucracy is very low. The structural differentiation related to power in public and private bureaucracies and the internal dynamics of their functioning are responsible for such a perception. In private bureaucracy the departments of purchase, stores, and sales are considered to have greater extent of corruption.

As far as association of corruption with certain positions in public bureaucracy is concerned, inspectorial positions of taxation and police and engineering posts have been perceived to have higher corruption. These posts have either greater public dealings, or powers which are not in consonance with their status and salary. Responses through interviews have, however, revealed a greater perception of corruption amongst ministers. Teachers have been considered to be the least corrupt. Factors related to structural strains like economic deprivations, administrative structural strains, and societal structural strains have been considered to be the causes of corruption. Moral weakness has been also considered to be an important cause of corruption.

Minor deviations in terms of taking minor advantages because of official position is a widespread phenomenon even amongst officials who are considered honest. Use of official articles for personal purposes is found in bureaucracy which is against the ideal-typical bureaucratic norm. Uses of official peons and vehicles for personal purposes have been perceived to be higher amongst upper level of bureaucrats and also amongst public bureaucrats. Middle and lower level bureaucrats have higher perception regarding the use of stationery.

The factors which prompt officials to accept bribes emanate from general social structure as well as substructure of bureaucracy. Administrative delay has been thought to be a major cause of corruption.⁶² The widespread talk of the prevalence of corruption has its consequences. It helps those who indulge in it to rationalize their behaviour and induces

⁶²Santhanam Committee Report, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

many to accept such a norm. People's belief about corruption leads to the fact what they would do if given the opportunity.⁶³

Another aspect of the dysfunctions of bureaucracy relates to perception of inefficiency in relation to various factors responsible for it. These factors have been grouped into three types : (a) factors related to personality in which we have included lack of initiative and lack of competence, (b) administrative factors in which we have included improper procedure, lack of coordination, and too much work, (c) factors related to structural strains, which include bad human relations, groupism, communalism and political interference. High relationship has been perceived between lack of coordination, lack of initiative, improper procedure, lack of competence, political interference, groupism, in that order on one side and inefficiency in bureaucratic functioning on the other. Bad human relations, too much work, and communalism have been considered as factors which have low relationship with inefficiency. Public bureaucrats have higher perception of relationship between inefficiency and factors of lack of initiative, lack of competence, lack of coordination, and political interference. Technical bureaucrats have higher perception of inefficiency and improper procedure, lack of coordination, groupism, bad human relations, and communalism.

Structural deviant factors in relation to dysfunctions of bureaucracy revealed that favouritism, groupism, and non-rational factors in promotion have a high perception. Technical bureaucrats have higher perception of groupism. Public bureaucrats have higher perception of non-rational factors influencing promotion. Political interference has been perceived to have higher negative consequences for bureaucratic functioning. Perception of such negative consequences is higher amongst upper category of bureaucrats and amongst public bureaucrats.

On the whole there is high perception of dysfunctions of bureaucracy which reflects self-image of bureaucrats and

⁶³Myrdal, *Asian Drama*, Vol. II, *op. cit.*, p. 941.

personal evaluation of other functionaries. Such a phenomenon will affect not only the morale of the bureaucrats but also the public-image of bureaucracy. Consequently it will adversely influence the quality and pace of change brought about through bureaucracy. Bureaucracy has been the major agency of social change in India. High perception of the dysfunction of bureaucracy shall, therefore, adversely influence the quality and pace of change.

Culture of Bureaucrats and Its Changing Form

Bureaucracy is a type of social organization designed to accomplish large-scale administrative tasks by rationalistic and systematic coordination of a number of individuals in diverse type of occupations.¹ Since bureaucracy constitutes a life-long career, provides certain privileges and powers, necessitates continuous and long working in the milieu of office, organizes and coordinates work through division of labour and hierarchical division of status, rewards work through a system of grades, increments, promotions and positions, it would be appropriate to ask whether such attributes and conditions of work lead to a distinctive pattern of

¹Peter Blau, *Bureaucracy in Modern Society*, New York: Random House, 1965, p. 14

culture and style of life among the bureaucrats. It is believed that an individual's occupation to a great extent determines his way of life.²

It is in connection with a certain distinctive way of life of a particular group or social category that the concept of subculture assumes significance. Subculture is the culture of an identifiable segment of a society. Writers have referred to the subcultures of occupations, adolescents, criminals, social classes etc.³ It is through continuous interaction with its environment that a bureaucratic organization may succeed in maintaining those characteristics that distinguish it from other social groups. Specialization of roles and tasks, rational, non-personal rules in the organization, efficient implementation of specific goals are some of the structural characteristics which distinguish it from other organizations.⁴ An aspect of culture of bureaucracy in terms of equipments, tools, the office room, the peon, the call bell, the desk, the work-schedule and routine does reflect a pattern. A more significant question relates to the culture and style of life of bureaucrats as a social category. The extent to which bureaucracy reflects the total social order or is insulated from it and especially the extent to which it diffuses the same or different aspects as those of the social order are important aspects of bureaucracy.⁵

Historically, has the bureaucracy in India reflected the mass culture? It is one of the relevant questions in the present study, since it is related to bureaucrats' identity with their group and their exclusiveness. This question is also related to the elite character of higher civil service in India.

²Lee Taylor, *Occupational Sociology*, New York : Oxford University Press, 1968, p. 87.

³G.A. Theodorson and Achilles G. Theodorson, *A Modern Dictionary of Sociology*, London : Methuen and Co., 1970, p. 424.

⁴S N. Eisenstadt, 'Bureaucracy, Bureaucratization, and Debureaucratization', in Amitai Etzioni (ed.), *Complex Organizations*, New York : Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1961, p. 270.

⁵R. Braibanti, 'Introduction', in Ralph Braibanti (ed.), *Asian Bureaucratic System Emergent from the British Imperial Tradition*, Durham : Duke University Press, 1966, p. 6.

What is the nature of subculture and style of life of bureaucrats? How does cultural possession equip bureaucrats for their role? How far is it a culture of people at large? Is it a class culture? Is it part of general urban culture? What western elements have penetrated the subculture of bureaucrats? In the process of greater democratization and emergence of a number of other occupations does the phenomenon of subculture constitute a class for bureaucrats?

In this chapter we have tried to examine some of the above questions. The chapter first deals with some aspects of culture leading to exclusiveness of bureaucrats historically, in relation to subculture, style of life, and pattern of behaviour. Though there is no systematic account of the cultural life of administrators, a few studies have dealt with some aspects of the subculture and style of life of administrators.* Exaggerated exclusiveness of bureaucrats is consequential to the society and its people. This becomes more significant in a society which is committed to democracy and socialistic pattern of society. We have thereafter dealt with certain aspects of specific items of culture and style of life. These items have been divided into the following categories:

- (1) Material possession.
- (2) Communication and literary orientation.
- (3) Recreational activities.
- (4) Personal style of life.

We have examined each category separately.

*For details on this theme see Michael Edwards, *Glorious Sahibs*, London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1968; Michael Edwards, *British India, British Rule in India*, London: George Allen and Unwin, 1962; N.B. Bonarjee, *Under Two Masters*, Calcutta: Oxford University Press, 1970; Lord Beveridge, *India Called Them*, London: George Allen and Unwin, 1947; Philip Woodruff, *The Men Who Ruled India* (Two Volumes), London: Jonathan Cape, 1953. Kewal L. Parabi (ed.), *The Civil Servant in India*, Bombay: Bhartiya Vidya Bhavan, 1965.

Exclusiveness and Cultural Chasm

Early bureaucrats in British administration limited the Nawabs and their style of life. To a considerable extent the Company's bureaucrats were recruited from the governing class and wealthy professional classes at home.⁷ The ICS constituted, on the whole, an elite from the best families of England.⁸ They considered themselves to be a privileged class and had the feeling of racial and bureaucratic superiority.⁹ Up to the end of 1920 the ICS service remained almost a social and racial oligarchy, its members being recruited from prosperous upper-middle professional class from London.¹⁰

The ICS holding key posts throughout the bureaucracy, determined the policy of administration.¹¹ The colonial status of our country separated the civil service from the people. The civil service was to rule the country.¹² Government bureaucracy in India has been a colonial instrument and it perpetuated interests which were basically oriented to the continuation of British rule in India and the exaggerated self-interests of the bureaucrats. Bureaucrats were the real rulers since they were far away from Britain. Interference and instruction in day-to-day administrative matters could not have taken place due to the wide physical distance. Concentration of large scale powers in the bureaucrats and a sense of racial and cultural superiority led to process of exclusiveness.

⁷A. Aspinall, *Cornwallis in Bengal*, Manchester : Manchester University Press, 1931, p. 134.

⁸T. Walterwallbank, *India*, New York : Henry and Co., 1948, p. 30.

⁹Bishwanath Prasad, *The Indian Administrative Service*, New Delhi : S. Chand and Co., 1968, p. 20.

¹⁰N. B. Bonarjee, *Under Two Masters*, Calcutta : Oxford University Press, 1970, p. 98.

¹¹Ralph Braibanti, 'Reflections on Bureaucratic Reform in India', in R. Braibanti and J. J. Spengler (eds.), *Administration and Economic Development in India*, Durham : Duke University Press, 1963, p. 3.

¹²A. R. Tyagi, *The Civil Service in a Developing Society*, Delhi : Sterling Publishers, 1969, p. 9.

The earlier Englishmen in India did not think high of Indian society and religion. They spoke with almost unanimous abhorrence of a religion which sanctioned and indeed sanctified burning women alive, suffocating sick old people, female infanticide and marrying little girls to old men.¹³ ICS—the top men in the civil service—more particularly the British, isolated themselves as a closed caste of Brahmans which married, dined and moved with members of its own rank with the result that a firm wall between them and the people was created.¹⁴

This exclusiveness led to aristocracy in life-style which was another feature of maintaining exclusiveness coupled with the sense of superiority. The living of high officials was indeed royal. The price they paid by leaving the motherland had to be adequately compensated in living well and enjoying life.¹⁵ The bureaucrats ruled with a feeling of being conquerors. Away from home, both from the public gaze and government of the country, they could afford to indulge in all luxurious living; some even indulged in vices. The sense of anonymity, compensation for living in a land which was different in climate, culture and social institutions, coupled with concentration of high power led bureaucrats to live a distinctive style of life.

The feudal traditions further influenced the British officials who imitated the life-style of Nawabs and Rajas.

A man who in England would have lived soberly and respectably as a lawyer or civil servant, acquired in Calcutta, the vices of aristocracy; he learnt to keep a mistress, to give large parties...¹⁶

The most aristocratic living in India was reflected in the lives of Rajas and Nawabs who had immense wealth and opulence, who indulged in conspicuous display of wealth and wives, fort and females, and who made their citizens realize their superiority in all conceivable forms. Englishmen who scorned the natives and stigmatized the whole people as untrustworthy patronized the kings.¹⁷

¹³Woodruff, Vol. I, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

¹⁴Bishwanath Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

¹⁵Woodruff, Vol. I, *op. cit.*, pp. 163-165.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 154-155.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 195.

British officers in the 18th century and later welcomed the luxuries of Indian upper class life and that of kings and princes. They enjoyed the pleasure of the harem. Some wrote poetry in Persian, the court language. Others were happy to witness a nautch, or dance, when they visited their Indian friends.¹⁸

In fact young civilians had great power, which made their position highest in the country. Trevelyn in this connection writes about young civilians :

...his power for good and evil is almost unlimited...He is member of an official aristocracy, owning no social superior bound to no man, fearing no man.¹⁹

There was thus a great cultural chasm between the bureaucrats and the common man. Apart from this, ever changing masters had hardly any impact on them (common men). They had no voice of opposition or suggestion.²⁰ The personal and cultural chasm further led to rigidity and red-tape, lack of human sympathy, and lack of direct human rule of one man which India had always understood.²¹

The type and nature of exclusiveness of bureaucrats with the style of life of British-fellow colleagues in ICS remained almost the same even after Indianization of civil service in 1863. Many Indians took up career in the ICS due to its glamour, its pomp and power, which had made it a 'heaven born service'.²² Jenger writes :

I was made aware on my very first day that I was a member of a new caste which had its own rigid rules and regulations and lived a life far remote from that of the common people.²³

A majority of them conformed to the English way of life.²⁴ They were detached and even accused of being un-Indian.²⁵

¹⁸Edward, *British India*, *op. cit.*, p. 356.

¹⁹Quoted in Woodruff, Vol. II, p. 94.

²⁰Woodruff, Vol. I, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

²¹*Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 15.

²²K.L. Panjabi, 'My Experiences in the ICS', in Panjabi (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 85.

²³H.V.R. Jenger, 'My Life in the ICS', in Panjabi (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 119.

²⁴J.M. Lobo Prabhu, 'My Work in the ICS', in Panjabi (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 225.

²⁵*Ibid.*, p. 225.

It has been said therefore that there is nothing comparable today to the glamour of Indian Civil Service.²⁶ In fact the ICS was meant to rule not serve.²⁷ The accusation that the services (ICS) have cultivated an exclusiveness which gives them all the appearance and character of a special caste has persisted. That they have isolated themselves and developed habits of thought and speech unfamiliar to the great mass of their countrymen, has been considered true for Indian ICS officers.²⁸

The Indian ICS officers imitated English officers not merely in dress and speech but in the wider cultural pattern of life. Riding, tennis, shooting, going to clubs—things relatively trivial in themselves certainly became a mode of value for pleasure-seeking Indian ICS officers and consequently other aristocratic classes in India.²⁹ Western mode of material living including food and clothing was adopted by the Indian members of the ICS. Some of them had received a part of their university education in England, others had been subjected to Anglicization for two years in England as part of their in-service training.³⁰

Though there is greater equalization of aristocracy since it has been greatly democratized and filtered widely in other ranks after independence, the sense of exclusiveness and exaggerated self-consciousness of belonging to the top Indian administrative service persists even today. Though the IAS is composed of the sons of soil, its method of work, the way of life, and outlook is very much similar to that of the ICS.³¹

²⁶V. Ishwaran, 'The Indian Civil Servant', in Panjabi (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 247.

²⁷Frank Moraes, 'Omniscient and Omnibus', *Seminar*, No. 84, Aug., 1968.

²⁸N. Raghavan Pillai, 'The Civil Service as a Profession', in Panjabi (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 23.

²⁹N. B. Bonatjee, *Under Two Masters*, London. Oxford University Press, 1970, p. 113.

³⁰Sri Ram Sharma, *Some Aspects of Indian Administrative System*, Sholapur Institute of Public Administration, 1957, p. 137.

³¹Bishwanath Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

British officers in the 18th century and later welcomed the luxuries of Indian upper class life and that of kings and princes. They enjoyed the pleasure of the harem. Some wrote poetry in Persian, the court language. Others were happy to witness a nautch, or dance, when they visited their Indian friends.¹⁸

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¹⁹Quoted in Woodruff, Vol. II, p. 94.

²⁰Woodruff, Vol. I, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

²¹*Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 15.

²²K.L. Panjabi, 'My Experiences in the ICS', in Panjabi (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 85.

²³H.V.R. Jenger, 'My Life in the ICS', in Panjabi (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 119.

²⁴J.M. Lobo Prabhu, 'My Work in the ICS', in Panjabi (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 225.

²⁵*Ibid.*, p. 225.

the number of salutes, the magnificent palaces, opulence and luxury, made the life of rulers and administrators different from the life of common man. Each ruling family had its deity supported by the State. This introduced a sacred element in the administration.³⁶ The personal life of some of the rulers was religiously orthodox though they indulged in wine and women. In 1902 when the ruler of Alwar went to England a new ship was hired for Rs. 1.50 lakh. It was completely cleaned. Ganges water and the soil of his State and the idol of family deity were taken along with him.³⁷ However, the impact of Britishers was significant as gradually they came to be looked upon as more developed in science and technology. They thus became a selective reference group for the princes and administrators.³⁸

The feudal culture of the States emphasized acceptance of order so much so that 'Hukum' (order) and 'Baro Hukum' became common words in administration and penetrated in social and family form of addresses between persons of unequal status. They continue to be in operation in governmental bureaucracy at all levels and are substitutes for the word 'sir'. Court life, thus, had a subculture of its own. The administration had to give great attention to the personal life of the ruler and to matters concerning marriage, engagement, education and upbringing of the children.

Great emphasis was laid on pattern of dress, on form of address to higher officials and the ruler, style of house, ownership of vehicles, horses, and such other symbols. The emphasis was on distinctiveness of culture and style of life demarcating line between masses and the elite group.

For the civil service now many things have changed externally. India has a large democracy. The nation is committed to the goals of welfare State and development. Higher civil service is now known as IAS. The salary of IAS is lesser than

³⁶Shyamaldas, *Vir Vinod*, p. 1753.

³⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 164-65.

³⁸A selective reference group means a group to which one wants to belong in some aspects and not in others.

Training with the members of his own cadre accentuates exclusiveness.³² The status-consciousness is so marked that the IAS officers who are higher up in merit list of selectees do not mix with members of allied services who are less meritorious and whose service conditions, promotion chances, and power are comparatively less marked. Until India was not free, the aloofness and superiority complex of the high civil servants was tolerated, endured, admired and secretly despised. After independence there has been frequent resentment about it. So sharp has been the resentment that on April 22, 1964, the Minister of State for Home Affairs of the Government of India informed the Parliament that a course in showing courtesy to the public is likely to be included in the syllabus for the Indian Administrative Service trainees.³³ It can be asserted that the very process of socialization in training and thereafter, for higher administrative services, leads to exclusiveness and superiority complex among these bureaucrats. Posh-living in the training school, emphasis on a particular style of behaviour and manners, the haunting memory and love of style of life of earlier bureaucrats, continue to make the higher civil service a distinct category.

Rajasthan was divided into twenty-one princely States prior to its integration. Each State had a court system composed of the ruler and his immediate family. The court was the centre of cultural life, as well as of political power.³⁴ The pattern of administration in States of Rajasthan was different from that of the British India. The ruler had final authority in the matter of administration. He normally had a Diwan to assist him in the working of day-to-day administration. There were a few other officials also who were appointed by the ruler and served during his pleasure.³⁵ Status symbols like

³²*Ibid.*, p. 163.

³³Nird C. Chaudhuri, *The Continent of Circe*, Bombay : Jaico Publishing House, 1965, p. 365.

³⁴Lawrence L. Shreder, 'Rajasthan', in Myron Weiner (ed.), *State Politics in India*, Princeton, New Jersey : Princeton University Press, 1968, p. 324.

³⁵B.P. Gupta, *Growth of Administration in Bikaner State 1818-1947*, Ph.D thesis (unpublished), p. 16.

life. Exclusive possession of certain material goods and an exclusive way of life have been characteristic of the elite group during the pre-industrial era. Such possessions have been symbols of status and authority.

The status of kings and feudal lords was determined by the number of elephants and horses they kept, the size, number and magnificence of forts and palaces and also the number of wives they married. Kings and feudal lords patronized art, music and poetry, not so much for aesthetic taste, but due to their value as status-boosters. Besides, they cultivated certain hobbies and formed distinct personal habits.

Each conqueror influenced the nature of material possessions and style of life in India, albeit the influence was largely restricted to its court life and elite bureaucrats. Moguls influenced the architecture, art, music, language in official communication, dress, aspects of personal habits, and mode of address.

As the British settled into the role of rulers they began to assemble some of the outward show of the governing classes back in Britain. Elegant public buildings were constructed. It was an architectural demonstration, not so much for national pride as for desire of social status.⁴⁰ The new architecture in urban city was influenced by the British pattern. Open spaces for military drill, government houses, civil lines, office-buildings, churches, reflected British influence.⁴¹ Britishers, even in town, lived in spacious and elegant houses.⁴² Gradually a number of changes were witnessed. Education on British pattern was imparted. Railways, post-offices and other means of communication influenced the pattern of social life. Mass production of certain articles led to their more widespread consumption both due to cheap cost and the comfort they provided. The West influenced the Indian literature by means of printing press and English education.⁴³

⁴⁰Edward, *British India*, op. cit., p. 45.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, p. 327.

⁴²*Ibid.*, p. 331.

⁴³*Ibid.*, p. 135.

that of ICS. Many more people from lower strata are entering the IAS including candidates from the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes on the basis of reservation. For many young men alternative attractive jobs exist in private firms. Standard of living and material possession have improved for urban educated sections of society. There is no distinction between the way high public bureaucrats live and others in society who earn well.

Bureaucrats further today are required to work in changed circumstances where goals are radically different from what they had inherited by way of colonial administrative structure. It has been said that those who were trained in the collection of taxes and in the maintenance of law and order for the alien and in the art of keeping aloof from the masses cannot run a complex steel plant, or sense the urgency of a positive health policy, a dynamic education policy and a bold language policy.³⁹

It can be said that the tradition of exclusiveness at the higher level of public bureaucracy continues to exist even today in a society which is democratic, socialistic, politically stable and wedded to development. This suggests that formal institutional changes and behavioural changes do not go together. Behaviour is actualized through overt expression and is nearer realistic expression of self while the institutions operate externally to man in a general social context. This explains the continuity of feudal mentality even amidst formal institutional changes.

Material Culture and Style of Life

Material possessions, literary orientation, recreational activities and personal habits are important aspects of cultural

³⁹'The Problem', Indian Civil Service, *Seminar*, No. 84, August 1966.

However, it has been found that comparatively a larger number of upper bureaucrats have houses of their own.

It has been reported that even some of the young IAS officers have constructed houses in Jaipur. In terms of location and design these houses show a distinctive pattern. Influence and power have helped many upper rank public bureaucrats in obtaining land and other facilities connected with house construction.

Table 7:2—House and Land Ownership and Specialization

<i>Specialization</i>	<i>House</i>	<i>Land</i>	<i>Total</i>
Non-technical	124 (45.1)	81 (29.4)	275 (100.0)
Technical	98 (32.7)	83 (27.7)	300 (100.0)

Non-technical bureaucrats possess houses in greater number. These bureaucrats comparatively enjoy greater authority and power as they have greater public dealings. This helps in the purchase of land and construction of house. The technical bureaucrats are younger in age compared to the non-technical bureaucrats and have put in lesser years of service. The question of construction of house is taken after having put in certain years of service.

Table 7:3—House and Land Ownership and Type of Bureaucracy

<i>Type</i>	<i>House</i>	<i>Land</i>	<i>Total</i>
Public	130 (43.3)	77 (25.7)	300 (100.0)
Private	92 (33.4)	87 (31.6)	275 (100.0)

We have to examine the nature of culture and style of life of bureaucrats and to find out if the gap between common people and bureaucrats has been eliminated. Does the material possession and style of life by bureaucrats reveal a Western mode of life? What are the elements of such distinctive Western mode of life which have been imbibed by the bureaucrats? Are these aspects of life part of urbanity reflecting the general trend in urban areas or, do bureaucrats continue to have a distinctive subculture?

Material possessions, literary orientation, recreational activities and personal style of life of the bureaucrats studied, are being examined with reference to the above questions.

Possession of material articles has been categorized as under :

- (1) *Property articles* : House and Land.
- (2) *Recreational and other articles* : Radio, Radiogram, Refrigerator, Drawing-room furniture, Telephone.
- (3) *Conveyance articles* : Cycle, Scooter, Car.

Property Articles

Possession of house and its type are associated with one's status in society. Owning a house also provides a sense of security. Of the bureaucrats studied, 38.6 per cent own houses and 28.5 per cent own some land. This reveals that a large number of bureaucrats do not possess a house of their own.

Table 7: 1—House and Land Ownership and Hierarchy

<i>Hierarchy</i>	<i>House</i>	<i>Land</i>	<i>Total</i>
Upper	79 (45.1)	66 (37.7)	175 (100.0)
Middle	77 (38.5)	49 (24.5)	200 (100.0)
Lower	66 (33.0)	49 (24.5)	200 (100.0)
Total	222 (38.6)	164 (28.5)	575 (100.0)

Some bureaucrats at the upper level have transistors or radiograms and no radio separately. Despite high diffusion of purchase of certain articles due to cheap price, one-fourth of the bureaucrats at lower level do not possess radios, though they are educated and earning. The popular items of listening reported were news bulletins and programmes of Vividh Bharti and songs from Radio Ceylon. The programmes of All India Radio for audience within the country start early morning, lasting until about midnight.

In our study 66.1 per cent of the bureaucrats possess drawing room furniture. Thus drawing room furniture is possessed by a large number of bureaucrats. However, the items and quality of furniture differ compared to upper bureaucrats. Only less than half of the lower level bureaucrats have drawing room furniture. The drawing room furniture during the British-raj used to be majestic and posh for rulers and high bureaucrats. Some of the upper and other rank bureaucrats have obtained furniture from government or industry on rent.

Free telephone is provided by the government and industrial employers to some of their key employees. In our study 23.3 per cent of the bureaucrats possess telephone. Upper level bureaucrats possess the highest number of telephones. The government has fixed the maximum number of telephone calls for certain category of bureaucrats with a view to checking its misuse. Telephone adds to personal convenience apart from being functional for discharge of official duties.

We find that 14.1 per cent of the bureaucrats possess refrigerator. It is possessed essentially by the upper bureaucrats. It is an important item of status-symbol and is quite often kept in drawing-cum-dining room for its display value. Radiogram is possessed by a yet lesser number of bureaucrats. However, upper bureaucrats possess it in greater number.

Table 7:5—Articles of Comfort and Convenience and Type of Bureaucracy

Type	Radio	Drawing room furniture	Telephone	Refri- gerator	Radio- gram	Total
Public	259 (86.3)	184 (61.3)	85 (28.3)	36 (12.0)	6 (2.0)	300 (100.0)
Private	228 (82.9)	196 (71.3)	49 (17.8)	45 (16.4)	30 (10.9)	275 (100.0)

Greater number of public bureaucrats own houses. Public bureaucrats have greater sources of getting loans for construction of houses. Large number of bureaucrats at all levels of bureaucracy were reported to have taken loans for construction of houses. People in private bureaucracy possess land in greater number and have greater opportunities and aspiration for spatial and status mobility. Land, even if purchased, can be easily sold and does not create that sense of attachment and accomplishment which accrues in case of the construction of a house.

Items of Comfort and Convenience

Under this category we have the following items for analysis: radio, drawing room furniture, telephone, refrigerator and radiogram. These items of material culture are related to the modern way of living. They are the result of technological advancement in society. These items, further, determine status and possession or deprivation of these items is related to the general societal status. The importance of these items in terms of status-assignment varies from one item to another.

Of the bureaucrats studied 84.7 per cent have radio. Radio is the cheapest and most convenient medium of information and recreation which can be put to use for most part of the day. There is great diversity of programmes which are broadcast and cater to different tastes.

Table 7:4—Articles of Comfort and Convenience and Hierarchy

<i>Hierarchy</i>	<i>Radio</i>	<i>Drawing room furniture</i>	<i>Telephone</i>	<i>Refrigerator</i>	<i>Radiogram</i>	<i>Total</i>
Upper	164 (93.7)	162 (92.6)	99 (56.6)	66 (37.7)	22 (12.6)	175 (100.0)
Middle	173 (86.5)	133 (66.5)	20 (10.0)	10 (5.0)	9 (4.5)	200 (100.0)
Lower	150 (75.0)	85 (42.5)	15 (7.5)	5 (2.5)	5 (2.5)	200 (100.0)
Total	487 (84.7)	380 (66.1)	134 (23.3)	81 (14.1)	36 (6.3)	575 (100.0)

Cars are possessed by half of the higher bureaucrats. Very few amongst middle and lower categories have cars. Scooters are possessed by higher and middle bureaucrats in greater number while cycle is possessed by most of the lower bureaucrats. There is a clear relation between the possession of a particular type of conveyance and status in bureaucracy which corresponds with the general status in society.

Public bureaucrats generally get cars through the scheme of priority in allotment of cars to government employees. Scarcity of cars and scooters has led to fixing of discretionary quota of allotment to government employees and certain other categories of citizens. Cars and scooters are being sold in 'black' because of their scarcity. A few government officials who get cars from discretionary quota of government were reported to have sold cars and scooters for higher prices thereby earning profits. Some industrial firms provide car or scooter allowance. Use of car is confined to the elite bureaucrats. In middle and lower categories of bureaucrats car was maintained where both husband and wife were earning or father or brother possessed a car and the pattern of residence is joint or bureaucrats had earning by sources other than salary.

Cycle is possessed at all the levels of hierarchy. The lower the category, the higher the use of cycles. Possession of cycle by 55.4 per cent of the bureaucrats at upper level—which is a higher percentage than the possession of car—reveals that not all the higher bureaucrats belong to the upper class of the society. It may also imply that some bureaucrats do not possess their own cars since they have vehicles provided by the employers. Cycles are placed in big offices like the Secretariat at the cycle-stand and a token is given in lieu thereof. Cars and scooters have inadequate space of covered parking and are hence parked at available open space. Marked space for cars of particular bureaucratic ranks connotes association of status with availability of parking place etc.

Radiogram, refrigerator and drawing-room furniture are possessed in greater number by the industrial bureaucrats.

This is mainly due to two reasons :

(1) Industrial bureaucrats get comparatively higher salaries. One of the leading Indian companies paid its directors a salary of Rs. 18,500 per month, an expatriate allowance of 45,000 per month, an insurance premium of Rs. 1,000 per month, a chauffeur-driven free car, and a rent-free furnished house with two servants.⁴¹ The Company Law Board has no norms regarding the number of directors in a company, their salary and allowances.⁴² Some officials in private concerns get fabulous salaries. High salary facilitates consumption and purchase of costly items of living.

(2) Consumption of such articles has certain socio-psychological attributes. Such a consumption can be considered as compensatory conspicuous consumption. This helps in compensating the lack of authority and power of private bureaucrats vis-a-vis the government bureaucrats who possess greater power and authority in society. Such consumption instils a feeling of confidence and relieves them from a sense of deprivation.

Of the bureaucrats studied 18.3 per cent possess cars, 19.0 per cent scooters, 8.3 per cent motor-cycles, and 71.0 per cent cycles. The possession of a particular type of conveyance is an index of status. Possession of a car is an index of high status of a person in Indian society.

Table 7 : 6—Conveyance and Hierarchy

<i>Hierarchy</i>	<i>Car</i>	<i>Scooter/ Motor-cycle</i>	<i>Cycle</i>	<i>Total</i>
Upper	89 (50.8)	62 (35.4)	97 (55.4)	175 (100.0)
Middle	11 (5.5)	71 (35.5)	143 (71.5)	200 (100.0)
Lower	5 (2.5)	24 (12.0)	168 (84.0)	200 (100.0)
Total	105 (18.3)	157 (27.3)	408 (71.0)	575 (100.0)

⁴¹Surya Kanta Das, 'Directors' Remuneration in Selected Companies', *Indian Management*, Vol. VIII, July 1969, p. 3.

⁴²*Ibid.*, p. 3

Cars are possessed by half of the higher bureaucrats. Very few amongst middle and lower categories have cars. Scooters are possessed by higher and middle bureaucrats in greater number while cycle is possessed by most of the lower bureaucrats. There is a clear relation between the possession of a particular type of conveyance and status in bureaucracy which corresponds with the general status in society.

Public bureaucrats generally get cars through the scheme of priority in allotment of cars to government employees. Scarcity of cars and scooters has led to fixing of discretionary quota of allotment to government employees and certain other categories of citizens. Cars and scooters are being sold in 'black' because of their scarcity. A few government officials who get cars from discretionary quota of government were reported to have sold cars and scooters for higher prices thereby earning profits. Some industrial firms provide car or scooter allowance. Use of car is confined to the elite bureaucrats. In middle and lower categories of bureaucrats car was maintained where both husband and wife were earning or father or brother possessed a car and the pattern of residence is joint or bureaucrats had earning by sources other than salary.

Cycle is possessed at all the levels of hierarchy. The lower the category, the higher the use of cycles. Possession of cycle by 55.4 per cent of the bureaucrats at upper level—which is a higher percentage than the possession of car—reveals that not all the higher bureaucrats belong to the upper class of the society. It may also imply that some bureaucrats do not possess their own cars since they have vehicles provided by the employers. Cycles are placed in big offices like the Secretariat at the cycle-stand and a token is given in lieu thereof. Cars and scooters have inadequate space of covered parking and are hence parked at available open space. Marked space for cars of particular bureaucratic ranks connotes association of status with availability of parking place etc.

Communication and Literary Orientation

We have included in this section the following items to understand the literary orientation of the bureaucrats and their language of official communication : (1) books read, (2) newspapers read, (3) magazines read, (4) language of communication in office. The analysis of the responses shall reveal the typical literary orientation, if any, of the bureaucrats. Types of books read reflect one's interest and choice regarding reading at the level of personality-system, and at the cultural level it implies conforming to reading pattern of a particular subculture. Can it be presumed that certain tastes are subculturally induced or literary orientation of the bureaucrats reflects the diffusion of standardized reading material amongst large section of educated class ?

In fact many of the early members of the ICS have had literary talent. Scholarly researches into Indian history, philosophy, religion, ethnology, economics etc., were made by these members of the ICS.⁴⁶ The members of the Indian Civil Service and Administrative Service have intellectual interest in literature, though they might not be the most creative part of the Indian intellectual classes.⁴⁷ In fact the ICS tradition was leavened by intellectuality. They undertook detailed analysis of all aspects of Indian life which would satisfy even the canons of empiricism.⁴⁸ The contribution of some of the members of Indian Civil Service to the study and bringing out of the intimate and diverse aspects of social cultural life of Indian society is both unique and lasting.

⁴⁶L S S O'Malley, *The Indian Civil Service*, London : John Murray, 1931, p. 291.

⁴⁷Edward Shils, *The Intellectual Between Tradition and Modernity*, The Hague : Mouton and Co., 1961, p. 92.

⁴⁸Braibanti, 'Reflections on Bureaucratic Reform in India', in Braibanti and Spengler (eds.), *Administration and Economic Development in India*, op. cit., pp. 24-26.

The books which have influenced the bureaucrats have been of varied types.⁴⁹

These books have been categorized into four types : (1) Humanistic-philosophical (religious), (2) Humanistic-literary, (3) Scientific-technological, (4) Scientific-social.

Of the bureaucrats studied, 26.2 per cent have read humanistic-philosophical books, 55.6 per cent humanistic-literary books, 6.3 per cent scientific-technological books and 11.9 per cent scientific-social books. A large number of bureaucrats read humanistic-literary books. Such books make light reading. Reading of novels and stories is more common compared to reading of other books. These books are being printed in large number and also in cheap pocket editions.

Reading of humanistic-philosophical books comes second in the rank. The Hindu society has been traditionally religious. Even the administration of East India Company insisted that the Indian government maintain Hindu temples, collect pilgrim taxes (which were an anathema to missionaries), and appoint Hindu priests to manage these religious properties. The government had inherited these responsibilities from previous Indian governments.⁵⁰ The other-worldly orientation in the belief system and the ritual structure of Hindus in India have been all along very strong. This poses a question : Is the Indian tradition conducive to the working of a modern democratic state ?⁵¹ The other relevant question which can be raised is : Can bureaucracy be secular in its work pattern if a fairly large number of bureaucrats have religious orientation ? Secularism is an accepted state policy and has been recognized constitutionally. Bureaucrats appear to have

⁴⁹Given below are some of the titles of books and authors :

Books—Discovery of India, Continent of Circe, Area of Darkness, Life Divine, Ramayana, Mahabharata, Good Earth, Hindu View of Life, War and Peace, The Oldman and the Sea, Experiments with Truth, Chitra Lekha, Godan, Gaban, The Conquest of Happiness, Gunahon-ka Devta. *Authors*—M. K. Gandhi, Nirad Chaudhari, Ronald Segal, Sri Aurobindo, Ravindra Nath Tagore, Vivekanand, B. Russel, Naipaul, Gulshan Nanda, Dharmaveer Bharti.

⁵⁰G.D. Bearce, *British Attitudes Towards India, 1734-1838*, London : Oxford University Press, 1961, p. 61.

⁵¹V.K. Sinha, 'Secularism and Indian Democracy', in V.K. Sinha (ed.), *Secularism in India*, Bombay : Lalvani Publishing House, 1968, p. 22.

separated religion, which is related to personal life, from discharge of official duties.

Scientific-social books deal with current political and socio-cultural situation and have rational approach to the understanding of various phenomena. Scientific-technical books are not meant for general reading and have a totally technical bias. Of the upper bureaucrats, 31.0 per cent read humanistic-religious books, 46.9 per cent humanistic-literary, 7.3 per cent scientific-technical, and 15.8 per cent scientific-social books. Of the middle bureaucrats, 26.4 per cent, and 22.5 per cent of the lower bureaucrats read humanistic-religious books, 57.5 per cent of the upper and 60.7 per cent of the lower bureaucrats read humanistic-literary, 4.2 per cent of upper and 7.7 per cent of the lower bureaucrats read scientific-technical, and 11.9 per cent and 9.1 per cent read scientific-social books. The relationship between hierarchy and reading books is significant. The Chi-square is as under :

$$\chi^2_{19} = 23.61 \quad P < .001$$

The upper bureaucrat is placed in the situation of amalgamation of rational and supernatural values and reveals ambivalence towards this dichotomy. It is also possible that both rational and supernatural orientations are possible by the same individual by a judicious distinction between such areas. This would mean that no contradiction exists in these apparently contradictory orientations. Humanistic-literary books are read by lower bureaucrats in higher number. Such books have recreational value and are not taken as of serious significance.

Of the non-technical bureaucrats, 31.9 per cent read humanistic-philosophical books, 54 per cent humanistic-literary, 2.3 per cent scientific-technical and 11.8 per cent scientific-social books. Of the technical bureaucrats, 19.3 per cent read humanistic-philosophical, 57.4 per cent humanistic-literary, 11.2 per cent scientific-technical, and 12 per cent scientific social books. The relationship between reading of particular types of books and specialization is significant :

$$\chi^2_{19} = 53.07 \quad P < .001$$

There is no significant relationship on the basis of type. The Chi-square is as under :

$$\text{Chi}_3^2 = 2.83 \quad P < 0.50$$

The technical bureaucrats read the humanistic-religious books in lesser number though they have a slightly higher percentage of reading literary-humanistic books. The seeming feeling that professional technological education alienates them from humanistic-literary world inculcates in them a strong desire to be exposed to the literary world. Conversely, it is difficult for the non-technical people both to feel interested in and understand the scientific-technical books. Technical people have revealed a desire to have adequate knowledge about general societal problems and appear to have no less understanding of the politico-social situation than the non-technical personnel. Very few people revealed a regular habit of reading books. For many people interest in reading fades between work and family responsibilities.

Newspapers reading

Newspapers which are read in Rajasthan are English and Hindi national and regional dailies in English and Hindi languages. While 53.6 per cent of the bureaucrats said that they do not read Hindi newspapers, only 7.7 per cent of the bureaucrats said that they do not read English newspapers. The general standard of English national dailies in terms of news coverage, style of language, and contributions has been thought to be high. Regional Hindi newspapers are generally read for their greater informative value about the State, and local affairs and, in some cases, information about movies currently shown in the local cinema houses. Of the respondents, 5.0 per cent read *Hindustan*, 9.7 per cent *Navbharat Times*, 25.0 per cent *Rashtradoot*, 19.3 per cent *Rajasthan Patrika*, 2.4 per cent other newspapers while 53.6 per cent do not read any Hindi newspapers.⁶² Those who read Hindi

⁶²Responses for reading of each newspaper have been calculated by total number of bureaucrats in each category.

newspapers read in greater number regional Hindi dailies rather than English national dailies. There is better news coverage of national and international significance in the English dailies. Upper and middle rank and technical bureaucrats in greater number were reported to have not been reading Hindi newspapers.

Regional dailies are read more by lower bureaucrats (65.0 per cent), government bureaucrats (56.3 per cent) and non-technical bureaucrats (51.6 per cent).

A large number of respondents read English newspapers. Since some people read more than one newspaper, each category of newspaper has been calculated on the basis of total number of respondents. Of the respondents, 50.9 per cent read *Hindustan Times*, 32.5 per cent read *Times of India*, 19.5 per cent read *Indian Express*, 10.1 per cent *Statesman*, 0.7 per cent *Patriot*, 2.6 per cent other papers and 9.7 per cent reported that they did not read any newspaper.

A greater number of public bureaucrats read *Hindustan Times* and *Indian Express* while a greater number of private bureaucrats read *Times of India*.

One bureaucrat remarked :

I subscribe to *Times of India* as it advertises a large number of job positions in industries.

The *Indian Express* is comparatively cheaper and yet has a high reputation like other important national dailies. English newspapers are read more and, amongst Hindi dailies, regional dailies are preferred. Reading of Hindi dailies by less than half of the bureaucrats reveals the high standard of English dailies and habitual continuity of such reading.

Magazines read

One of the other aspects of literary orientation is the nature of reading various magazines published in English, Hindi and other regional languages. Periodicals in Hindi and English languages have the largest circulation. Two big monopoly newspapers are Bennett Coleman and Company

Table 7 : 7—Newspapers read and Type of Bureaucracy

Type	Hindustan Times	Times of India	Indian Express	Statesman	Patriot	Other	Not reading	Total
Public	173 (57.7)	67 (22.3)	72 (24.0)	27 (9.0)	1 (0.3)	2 (0.7)	27 (9.0)	300 (100.0)
Private	120 (43.6)	120 (43.6)	40 (14.5)	31 (11.3)	3 (1.1)	13 (4.7)	29 (10.5)	275 (100.0)
Total	293 (51.0)	187 (32.5)	112 (19.5)	58 (10.1)	4 (0.7)	15 (2.6)	56 (9.7)	575 (100.0)

Ltd., and Hindustan Times and Allied Publishers.⁵³ The former has seventeen papers with a total circulation of 9,79,405 and the latter thirteen papers with a circulation of 3,52,245.⁵⁴ The magazines published by these groups cater to the interest of women, children, film lovers, and general interest.

Dinman, *Dharmayug*, *Saptahik Hindustan* are the main Hindi weeklies which are popular amongst the bureaucrats. *Navneet*, *Gyanodaya*, *Sarika*, *Kadimbini*, *Kalyan* are monthly magazines and *Sarita*, a fortnightly which have been reported to be read by them. However, 45.9 per cent of the bureaucrats did not mention any magazine, 34.3 per cent read *Dharmayug*, 15.8 per cent *Saptahik Hindustan*, 13.7 per cent *Sarita*, 5.2 per cent *Navneet*, 4.5 per cent *Dinman*, 4.2 per cent *Kadimbini*, 2.6 per cent *Sarika*, 1.4 per cent *Kalyan*, 0.5 per cent *Gyanodaya*, and 12.9 per cent other magazines.⁵⁵

As far as reading of English magazines is concerned, we find that 18.6 per cent of the bureaucrats read *Illustrated Weekly*, 23.3 per cent *Readers' Digest*, 11.0 per cent *Blitz*, 11.5 per cent *Filmfare*, 8.2 per cent *Life*, 7.1 per cent *Time* while 35.6 per cent do not read English magazines. *Readers' Digest* is the most widely read magazine followed by *Illustrated Weekly*, *Filmfare*. *Blitz*, *Life* and *Time* in that order. *Illustrated Weekly* has a general approach, while *Filmfare* provides exclusively film material. *Blitz* is a Bombay weekly committed to leftist ideology and is adept in providing sensational news coverage from time to time.

Illustrated Weekly, *Readers' Digest*, *Life* and *Time* are read more by the upper bureaucrats. Reading of *Life* and *Time* magazines has become a sort of status-symbol for higher bureaucrats. *Filmfare*, a movie magazine, has comparatively greater readership at the lower level. Of the

⁵³India 1963, New Delhi: Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Govt. of India, 1968, p. 140.

⁵⁴Press in India 1965, Part I, New Delhi: Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Govt. of India, 1965, p. 62.

⁵⁵Percentage has been calculated for each magazine out of the total sample of 575.

Table 7.8—Magazine Reading and Hierarchy

<i>Hierarchy</i>	<i>Illustrated Weekly</i>	<i>Readers Digest</i>	<i>Life</i>	<i>Blitz</i>	<i>Time</i>	<i>Film- fare</i>	<i>Total</i>
Upper	52 (29.7)	61 (34.8)	19 (10.9)	18 (10.3)	27 (15.4)	16 (9.1)	175
Middle	36 (18.0)	45 (22.5)	14 (7.0)	23 (11.5)	7 (3.5)	23 (11.5)	200
Lower	20 (10.0)	28 (14.0)	14 (7.0)	22 (11.0)	7 (3.5)	27 (13.5)	200
Total	108 (18.8)	134 (23.3)	47 (8.2)	63 (11.0)	41 (7.1)	66 (11.5)	575

technical bureaucrats, 69.3 per cent and 60 per cent of the non-technical bureaucrats read English magazines while 77.7 per cent of the upper bureaucrats, 65.5 per cent of the middle and 51.5 per cent of the lower bureaucrats read English magazines.

Of the bureaucrats studied, 54.1 per cent read Hindi magazines while 64.4 per cent read English magazines. In terms of hierarchy 60 per cent of the lower bureaucrats read Hindi magazines compared to 55.5 per cent of the middle and 47.9 per cent of the upper bureaucrats. This is in reverse order compared to the reading of English magazines.

The extent of reading of Hindi magazines is highest amongst the lower bureaucrats while the extent of reading of English magazines is highest amongst the upper bureaucrats. Bureaucrats at the upper level try to maintain differences at social and cultural level by inculcating such values, taste of reading, and style of life which distinguish them from people placed at the lower level.

Language of communication in office

There has been a great controversy about the national and official language in India. There are twenty-nine States and Union Territories in India and fifteen languages have been

recognized by the Constitution. Rajasthani was not an official language of princely States. Urdu and Persian and, later, English were used for official purposes. For entry in the Rajasthan administrative and other provincial services knowledge of any one of the Rajasthani dialects is necessary. This rule in practice favours such people who have been living in Rajasthan for long or who are of Rajasthani origin.

In public bureaucracy official work is required to be performed in Hindi by the order of the Government. Government officials are required to sign in Hindi—a rule which is being strictly followed. There are some officials who do not know Hindi but have learnt to sign in Hindi. This had led in the beginning to certain difficulties since signatures of the same bureaucrat varied from one paper to another. Mr. Mukherjee, a Government Secretary, was reported to have signed initially as 'Murkhajee', which in Hindi means a fool. This is a part of the bureaucratic lore and subordinates are amused by narrating such incidents.

Signing in Hindi is strictly observed, though notings continue to be in English even by those who know Hindi. Signing in Hindi is mere ritualistic-symbolic. But the obsession to conform to it in some cases has been pathological. One instance, narrated by a bureaucrat, relates to signing the register at the reception counter while obtaining a 'pass' to enter the Secretariat, in which an educated person who did not know how to sign in Hindi was asked to put his thumb impression instead, and was thus inadvertently categorized as illiterate.

Many bureaucrats continue to make notings in English. The use of certain words in Hindi has been found arduous and cumbersome due to absence of any authentic translation. Hindi equivalents of certain standardized and frequently used English words in official work appear strange and there is an initial difficulty in grasping them due to 'trained incapacity' for a certain vocabulary. Appropriate English words have not been accepted and merged in Hindi. Instead, new words are being coined or Sanskrit equivalents are found.

While 7.8 per cent of the bureaucrats use only Hindi, 59.0 per cent use only English and 33.2 per cent of the bureaucrats both English and Hindi in official communication. Thus we find that a large number of the bureaucrats use both Hindi and English in official communication.

Table 7:9—Language used in Office and Hierarchy

<i>Hierarchy</i>	<i>Hindi</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>Both</i>	<i>Total</i>
Upper	15 (8.6)	94 (53.7)	66 (37.7)	175 (100.0)
Middle	10 (5.0)	123 (61.5)	67 (33.5)	200 (100.0)
Lower	20 (10.0)	122 (61.0)	58 (29.0)	200 (100.0)
Total	45 (7.8)	339 (59.0)	191 (33.2)	575 (100.0)

It is interesting to note that 61.0 per cent of the lower bureaucrats, 53.7 per cent of upper and 61.5 per cent of the middle bureaucrats use English language. This can be explained on two factors :

- (a) The presumption of the lower bureaucrats that some one, between their initial noting and the final noting at the top, may not know Hindi, prompts them to make notings in English.
- (b) His lower rank deprivation is compensated by making use of high status-language i.e., English. Use of English language makes one's status appear to be higher even in the general social interactional pattern.

Table 7:10—Language used in Office and Specialization

<i>Specialization</i>	<i>Hindi</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>Hindi and English both</i>	<i>Total</i>
Non-technical	36(13.1)	132(48.0)	107(38.9)	275(100.0)
Technical	9(3.0)	207(69.0)	84(28.0)	300(100.0)

Technical people use English in greater number. The technical vocabulary has been generally in English. They have been taught through English medium throughout their professional-educational career. The technical vocabulary also has been in English with no adequate Hindi equivalent.

Table 7:11—Language used in Office and Type

Type	Hindi	English	Hindi and English both	Total
Public	39 (13.0)	102 (34.0)	159 (53.0)	300 (100.0)
Private	6 (2.2)	237 (86.2)	32 (11.6)	275 (100.0)
Total	45 (7.8)	339 (59.0)	191 (33.2)	575 (100.0)

In public bureaucracy both Hindi and English are used. To induce people to learn Hindi government has offered incentives in the form of increments and facilities for teaching. There is an increasing emphasis on the use of Hindi in official work. There has not been any overt resistance on the part of non-Hindi knowing officials over the switch to Hindi. This shows acquired tendency to obey decisions by the bureaucrats even when they are against one's liking and values.⁵⁸

Spoken Language

While English is the most frequent mode of written communication its use in an exclusive manner as a spoken language is very low. While 33.7 per cent of the bureaucrats use Hindi only, 8.0 per cent use English only and 58.3 per cent both Hindi and English as spoken languages. Contrary to the mode of written language by the lower bureaucrats in higher number, as a spoken language English is used least by them. The effectiveness of English in terms of speaking is

⁵⁸The former chief secretary, who was a south Indian, had sought special permission to sign in English for a period of six months. By then he was to acquire the skill of signing in Hindi.

low in the case of lower bureaucrats. Speaking a particular language is a matter of use and practice. Even for those who write chaste English fluent speaking can become problematic. English speaking is also connected with sophisticated family background and in some cases with education in public schools.

Table 7:12—Language Spoken and Hierarchy

<i>Hierarchy</i>	<i>Hindi</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>Hindi and English both</i>	<i>Total</i>
Upper	56 (32.0)	13 (7.4)	106 (60.6)	175 (100.0)
Middle	51 (25.5)	15 (7.5)	134 (67.0)	200 (100.0)
Lower	87 (43.5)	18 (9.0)	95 (47.5)	200 (100.0)
Total	194 (33.7)	46 (8.0)	335 (58.3)	575 (100.0)

In government a greater number of bureaucrats speak Hindi, and Hindi and English both.

Table 7:13—Language Spoken and Type of Bureaucrat

<i>Type</i>	<i>Hindi</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>Hindi and English both</i>	<i>Total</i>
Public	127 (42.3)	12 (4.0)	161 (53.7)	300 (100.0)
Private	67 (24.4)	34 (12.4)	174 (63.2)	275 (100.0)

Private bureaucracy does not have any directive to use Hindi. Moreover the number of persons having public school background is greater in private bureaucracy and also the number of people who belong to non-Hindi speaking areas of the country.

Recreational Activities

Recreational activities reveal an important aspect of the subculture of a group. We have included the following items in the analysis of recreational life : (1) hobbies, and (2) frequency of seeing movies. Pursuance of certain hobbies, sports and other recreational activities may be influenced by the class position, availability of leisure, and professional groups one belongs to. Its significance in providing release of tension, a good diversion and self-satisfaction is amply recognized. But the nature and type of recreation pursued is culturally induced though individually selected.

The higher civil servants in earlier days used to pursue particular hobbies and recreational activities. They had a distinctive mode of recreational life. Moti K. Kripalani⁵⁷ writes :

I was posted at Rajshahi, a good riding district. We played tennis and foregathered in the evening at the club. We played billiards or bridge, had a few pink gins. Everything was decorous. Everyone wore evening dress.

Club was considered a good institution for officials as it kept them fit and provided opportunity for informality.⁵⁸ In the changed situation things have become different. Earlier the high bureaucrats had time to pursue hobbies or cultural activities. Such a luxury is beyond the reach of most of the officials today.⁵⁹ Today the club life is more frequent amongst government officers in the small district headquarters than in big cities and capital.

Certain types of hobbies are indigenous and old, having traditional and historical continuity, while other types of hobbies are new. In the present study the four hobbies found

⁵⁷Moti K. Kripalani, 'Some Memories of Old Bengal', in Panjabi (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 130.

⁵⁸V. Ishwaran, 'The Indian Civil Servant', in Panjabi (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 254.

⁵⁹Ram K. Vepa, 'Are They a Breed Apart', *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. XIII, No. 2, 1967, p. 227.

to be most common among the bureaucrats are : (1) reading, (2) gardening, (3) playing cards, and (4) music.

The rank order of hobbies⁶⁰ is as under :

Hobbies	Score
1. Reading	1126
2. Gardening	615
3. Playing Cards	431
4. Music	284
5. Dramatics	142
6. Painting	95
7. Stamps collection	61
8. Hunting	56
9. No hobby	376
10. Miscellaneous	264
	<hr/> 3450

Reading is the most widespread habit since it is easy, spontaneous, and can be pursued at any time. Divergent literature and types of magazines were reported to be read. A few departments and industrial houses have their own libraries. Secretariat, Legislative Assembly, Officers' Training School, Social Welfare Department, etc., have their own libraries. In one industrial concern a group of young officials have formed a readers' club through which magazines are circulated amongst themselves.

Gardening is another hobby. New areas for residence in the cities of Rajasthan have ample open space for gardening purposes. Most of the houses have single storeys. Lack of adequate water was, however, a common complaint by many of

⁶⁰The following question was asked : If you have any hobby, please list any three in order of priority : Gardening, painting, reading, music, dramatics, hunting, playing cards, stamps collection, any other—please specify. Results were obtained by taking all the preferences and giving them score by the following method, viz.,

Hobby	1st preference	2nd preference	3rd preference	Total Score
(1) Gardening	124X3	94X2	55X1	
	<hr/> 372	<hr/> 188	<hr/> 55	=615

Recreational Activities

Recreational activities reveal an important aspect of the subculture of a group. We have included the following items in the analysis of recreational life : (1) hobbies, and (2) frequency of seeing movies. Pursuance of certain hobbies, sports and other recreational activities may be influenced by the class position, availability of leisure, and professional groups one belongs to. Its significance in providing release of tension, a good diversion and self-satisfaction is amply recognized. But the nature and type of recreation pursued is culturally induced though individually selected.

The higher civil servants in earlier days used to pursue particular hobbies and recreational activities. They had a distinctive mode of recreational life. Moti K. Kripalani⁵⁷ writes :

I was posted at Rajshahi, a good riding district. We played tennis and foregathered in the evening at the club. We played billiards or bridge, had a few pink gins. Everything was decorous. Everyone wore evening dress.

Club was considered a good institution for officials as it kept them fit and provided opportunity for informality.⁵⁸ In the changed situation things have become different. Earlier the high bureaucrats had time to pursue hobbies or cultural activities. Such a luxury is beyond the reach of most of the officials today.⁵⁹ Today the club life is more frequent amongst government officers in the small district headquarters than in big cities and capital.

Certain types of hobbies are indigenous and old, having traditional and historical continuity, while other types of hobbies are new. In the present study the four hobbies found

⁵⁷Moti K. Kripalani, 'Some Memories of Old Bengal', in Panjabi (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 130

⁵⁸V. Ishwaran, 'The Indian Civil Servant', in Panjabi (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 254.

⁵⁹Ram K. Vepa, 'Are They a Breed Apart', *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. XIII, No. 2, 1967, p. 227.

English films while 54.1 per cent have a low frequency.⁶² We further find that 54.9 per cent of the upper, 43.5 per cent of the middle and 40.5 per cent of the lower bureaucrats have high frequency of seeing English movies. Upper bureaucrats have greater frequency of going to English movies. English movies are patronized by upper middle class people and a section of students. English movies are generally shown on Sunday mornings in Jaipur. Our study reveals that 39.3 per cent of the non-technical and 52.0 per cent of the technical bureaucrats have high frequency of seeing movies. Technical bureaucrats have greater frequency of seeing English movies.

Technical people belong to younger age-group, undertake more strenuous work, and have more sophisticated college background. We find that 37.3 per cent of the public and 55.3 per cent of the private bureaucrats have high frequency of seeing English movies. Thus private bureaucrats also have higher frequency of seeing English movies. Many of them have a public school background and a greater number of them come from outside Rajasthan. Desire for change and recreation is higher amongst the private bureaucrats, who have harder work to perform comparatively. They have comparatively lesser number of holidays and try to make the most out of it.

Hindi Movies

Of the bureaucrats studied, 57.4 per cent have high frequency of seeing Hindi movies while 42.6 per cent have a low frequency. More Hindi movies are seen compared to the English movies. Of the non-technical bureaucrats 45.8 per cent and 68.0 per cent of the technical bureaucrats have high frequency of seeing Hindi movies. We find that 48.7 per cent of

⁶²The question on movies runs as under: How often do you go to movies? (English, Hindi, other languages—please specify) once a week, once a month, once in three months, once in six months, rarely, never. Frequency of seeing movies in terms of high and low categories has been derived by calculation of median.

the respondents who pursued gardening as a hobby. Quite a few higher bureaucrats and ministers have purchased agricultural land for the purpose of farming.

Playing cards is a hobby which is more common at the middle and lower rank (5.7, 12.0 and 8.9 per cent upper, middle, and lower bureaucrats, respectively, pursue this hobby). Bridge, Rummy, Paplu are the popular card games which were reported. To play on stakes is not uncommon. 'Teen Patti' (flush) is also played. 'On certain occasions, like Diwali and Holi, we play flush on heavy stakes', remarked an official.

Music is a hobby to which one is initiated from early pre-occupational days. The technical bureaucrats comparatively (technical 6.7 per cent, non-technical 3.3 per cent) pursue this hobby in greater number. One technical bureaucrat remarked :

I feel so dull by involving myself in working with machines, that I want some emotional recreation. I have pursued music from my childhood. It ran in my family.

Aesthetic tastes are generally determined and developed by the environment of family and other early associations and do not depend on later professional career.

Frequency of seeing Movies

Films are the most common form of entertainment for people in the urban areas. India ranks third in the world in the number of cinema-goers, according to the latest U.N. Statistical Year Book.⁶¹ People belonging to all social classes and professional categories go to see movies. In our study 45.9 per cent of the bureaucrats have high frequency of seeing

⁶¹News Item, *The Sunday Statesman*, July 11, 1971

the public bureaucrats and 66.9 per cent of the private bureaucrats have high frequency of seeing Hindi movies. The frequency of going to Hindi movies is higher amongst technical and private bureaucrats.

Technical people belong to younger age-group, and have to put in comparatively harder work. Their salaries are comparatively higher. The same is true of bureaucrats in industries. Private bureaucrats show greater linguistic and cultural diversity. This makes them feel alienated from the local culture. A sense of loneliness makes them indulge in impersonal activities like visits to movies and pursuance of hobbies etc.

Movies in Regional Language

Of the bureaucrats studied, 16.3 per cent have high frequency of seeing movies in regional language and 83.7 per cent have a low frequency. Regional pictures are shown rarely. Bengali pictures and occasionally Punjabi pictures are shown. Bengali pictures are seen even by non-Bengali audiences in larger measure due to their aesthetic and artistic superiority. Of the public bureaucrats 13.3 per cent and 19.6 per cent of the private, have high frequency of seeing movies in the regional language. A comparatively greater number of industrial bureaucrats see regional pictures.

There is thus greater frequency of seeing Hindi movies followed by English movies and movies in the regional languages. Hindi movies, besides helping in the propagation of Hindi language, have helped the process of national integration in certain ways.

Personal Style of Life

Personal style of life is determined by various factors. We have included the following aspects of personal style of life in the present study : (1) dress, (2) servant for personal

Table 7 : 14—Frequency of Seeing Movies

Types of Movie Language	Extent of Seeing Movies			Total	Significance of relationship with variables		
	High	Low	Median*		Hierarchy	Specialization	Type
English	284 (45.9)	311 (54.1)	0 to 1 below median 2 to 52 above "	575 (100.0)	Significant $\chi^2_1 = 8.41$ $P < 0.02$	Significant $\chi^2_1 = 9.36$ $P < 0.01$	Significant $\chi^2_1 = 18.59$ $P < 0.01$
Hindi	330 (57.4)	245 (42.6)	0 to 4 below median 12 to 52 above "	575 (100.0)	Not significant $\chi^2_1 = 5.14$ $P < .10$	Significant $\chi^2_2 = 28.67$ $P < .001$	Significant $\chi^2_1 = 11.58$ $P < .001$
Regional language	94 (16.3)	481 (83.7)	0 below median 1 to 52 above median (100.0)	575	Not significant $\chi^2_1 = 0.19$ $P < 0.95$	Not significant $\chi^2_1 = 0.47$ $P < 0.50$	Significant $\chi^2_1 = 4.17$ $P < 0.05$

*Frequency of seeing movies in terms of high and low categories has been derived by calculation of median

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Type of Movie	Extent of Seeing Movies			Total	Significance of relationship with variables		
	High	Low	Median*		Hierarchy	Specialization	Type
English	264 (45.9)	311 (54.1)	0 to 1 below median 2 to 52 above "	575 (100.0)	Significant $\chi^2_1=8.41$ $p<0.02$	Significant $\chi^2_3=9.36$ $p<0.01$	Significant $\chi^2_1=18.59$ $p<0.001$
Hindi	330 (57.4)	245 (42.6)	0 to 4 below median 12 to 52 above "	575 (100.0)	Not significant $\chi^2_9=5.14$ $p<.10$	Significant $\chi^2_1=28.87$ $p<0.001$	Significant $\chi^2_1=11.58$ $p<0.001$
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the government. The subordinate officials imitated the higher ones and made use of official peons for domestic work. The practice became widespread and got institutionalized with the result that it became a common feature for peons to work at the residence of bureaucrats.

This attitude was related to the authoritarianism of public bureaucracy and a desire by the upper rank bureaucrats to live aristocratically. The lack of appropriate sense of the dignity of labour in a traditional society which was divided hierarchically in terms of high and low by birth reinforces the pattern of keeping servants.

After independence the number of class IV servants (peons) has increased. Also the awareness that their sphere of work is the office has increased. Peons have refused to work at residences. This phenomenon is more widespread in big cities and big offices while in the districts the old pattern continues though with certain changes. A bureaucrat in the Secretariat at Jaipur remarked :

Peons do not work in the Secretariat. A few of them do bring 'ration' and perform domestic work, but they have to be kept in good humour, and compensated in some way for the work done.

According to a report published in the *Times of India*, Rajasthan has 1,21,000 class IV employees. The Department of Justice which has a strength of 2,866, has 1433 class IV employees. Every senior official, it is stated, has one or more class IV employees working at his house. An IAS official who parks his car by the roadside has asked a peon to ensure that nobody tampers with the vehicle.⁶⁵ There has been a considerable change in actual use of peons for domestic work.

We find that 50.4 per cent of the bureaucrats do not have any servant, 33.0 per cent have part-time servants, while 16.5 per cent have full-time servants.⁶⁶ There is significant relationship between having a servant and rank. Of the upper bureaucrats 32.6 per cent, 12.5 per cent of the middle, and 6.5 per cent of the lower bureaucrats have full-time servants. Of the upper

⁶⁵*Times of India*, July 21, 1966.

⁶⁶The question asked was : Do you have a domestic servant ? Full-time, part-time, no servant.

use, (3) extent of drinking amongst various categories of bureaucrats, (4) extent of smoking. One of the most obvious and exhibitivie aspect of personal life is dress. In Rajasthan traditionally 'Safa' or 'Pagri' as head-dress, and 'achakan' or long coat as proper dress for bureaucrats had existed in princely states.

The formal dress prescribed for the bureaucrats, after independence has been buttoned up coat and trousers. However, bush-shirt and trousers is the common mode of dress of bureaucrats at all levels. Instead of cotton clothing 'terelyne' and 'terecot' are now being used very frequently.

It is difficult to recognize the rank of a bureaucrat merely by dress. From 'babu' to boss, all appear to wear similar pattern of dress. It was reported that bureaucrats in private concerns were more meticulous about dress.

Servant for personal use

Use of domestic servant is associated with class position. In public bureaucracy, however, use of servant provided by government for personal purposes is dependent not only on the rank of the bureaucrat but also on the nature of control over the office-servant.

Use of a large number of servants has been associated with feudal culture and is a colonial legacy. A large number of servants looked for comforts and conveniences of the kings, feudal lords, and later of British officials in India. The early British bureaucrats used to have a large number of servants. Hicky, who was a bachelor, had sixty-three servants when he left India.⁶³ The Parks, at Allahabad, had fifty-seven regular servants besides twelve to fourteen extra in the hot weather—a man to wash, another to iron, two tailors, a lady's maid, gardener, grass-cutter, eighteen bearers.⁶⁴ They were all paid by

⁶³Woodruff, Vol I, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

⁶⁴*Ibid*, pp 315-316

the government. The subordinate officials imitated the higher ones and made use of official peons for domestic work. The practice became widespread and got institutionalized with the result that it became a common feature for peons to work at the residence of bureaucrats.

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⁶³*Times of India*, July 21, 1966.

⁶⁴The question asked was : Do you have a domestic servant ? Full-time, part-time, no servant.

50.3 per cent, 35.5 per cent of the middle, and 15.5 per cent of the lower bureaucrats have part-time servants. Of the upper 17.1 per cent, 52.0 per cent of the middle, and 78.0 per cent of the lower bureaucrats do not have any servant. The chi square is significant :

$$\chi^2_1 = 144.46 \quad P < .001$$

Peons in some cases work at home also. Peons work at residences on the basis of who wields the real authority over them. Sometimes even lower officials have greater real control over the peons since they assign work, grant leave, and otherwise control them. The capacity to engage domestic servant is directly related with the official status and salary.

The reasons for not engaging servants, thus, could be structural-societal (deprivative negative) or structural-bureaucratic. In the first case, large family size and low economic background leads to non-engaging of personal domestic servants. On the other hand, misuse of bureaucratic authority leads to non-engaging of personal domestic servants as official servants work unofficially at residence. They do so either due to the awe of the authority of officials or on being motivated to obtain extra benefit in kind, e.g., meals, use of servants' quarters, or cash.

Servants amongst themselves have a hierarchy. Those who work for high officials, ministers, etc. feel higher in status compared to others who work for lower rank officials though, in terms of salary and grade, they all are equal.

Of the non-technical bureaucrats 17.8 per cent, and 15.3 per cent of the technical bureaucrats have full-time servants. Of the non-technical 25.4 per cent and 40.0 per cent of the technical bureaucrats have part-time servants. Of the non-technical 56.7 per cent and 44.7 per cent of the technical bureaucrats do not have any servants. There is significant relationship between specialism and having a servant. The chi square is as under :

$$\chi^2_2 = 13.89 \quad P < .001$$

Technical bureaucrats engage servants in greater number. Their standard of living is comparatively better.

There have been two forces operating in this connection. On the one hand, the peons have become aware of their rights and spheres of activities and do not bother much since they do not have any chance of promotion to a higher hierarchy. They feel secure since dismissal in government is procedurally difficult. On the other hand, authoritarianism of public bureaucracy continues along with lack of any value regarding the dignity of labour.

Perception of the extent of taking drinks (liquor)

Drinking in some form or other has existed in all societies and in all phases of its development. It has been considered an evil in the Hindu normative structure. But it has existed in all epochs of Indian history. Drinks have had a special and distinct role to play in the culture of princely and feudal courts. Britishers were also fond of drinks and cocktails became a frequent part of the social life of British bureaucrats in India. Prohibition is one of the directive principles of the Indian Constitution and some States have enforced partial or total prohibition.

Drinks have facilitated, customarily, the spontaneity of social get-togethers and have helped in the release of anxiety and tension at the individual level. According to rules one cannot drink while on duty in public bureaucracy. It was reported that in industrial bureaucracy cocktail parties were organized as a means of establishing contact with meaningful public bureaucrats and other dignitaries. In public bureaucracy, however, drinks are served in the parties organized by higher bureaucrats amongst themselves. An IAS official remarked :

I was initiated into drink by the former chief secretary. He would invariably offer drinks to one who called upon him after joining the cadre in the State, and force him to take drinks, in case he is a teetotaler.

It has been reported that even a large number of ministers take drinks.

Table 7 : 15—Perception of Taking Drinks

Rank of Officials	Frequency of taking drinks			Total	Significance in relation to variables		
	Frequently	Less frequently	Never		Hierarchy	Specialization	Type
Colleagues, superiors, subordinates							
Colleagues	88 (15.3)	287 (49.9)	200 (34.8)	575 (100.0)	Significant $\chi^2_{14}=26.38$ $P<.001$	Significant $\chi^2_{14}=17.59$ $P<.001$	Not significant $\chi^2_{14}=0.10$ $P<0.98$
Superiors	104 (18.1)	237 (41.2)	234 (40.7)	575 (100.0)	Significant $\chi^2_{14}=28.63$ $P<.001$	Significant $\chi^2_{14}=10.11$ $P<.001$	Not significant $\chi^2_{14}=1.38$ $P<.50$
Subordinates	42 (7.3)	223 (38.8)	310 (53.9)	575 (100.0)	Significant $\chi^2_{14}=57.94$ $P<.001$	Significant $\chi^2_{14}=7.00$ $P<0.05$	Not significant $\chi^2_{14}=5.55$ $P<.10$

The question runs as : As far as you know how frequent is the Incidence of taking drinks amongst your colleagues, superiors, subordinates ? Very frequent, Frequent, Less frequent, Least frequent, Never.
Responses were merged into three categories—Frequently, less frequently, never.

Habitual drinking is associated with certain types of posts and departments in public bureaucracy. Posts in police and excise departments are associated with habitual drinking. IAS officials are also reported to be taking drinks moderately to frequently.

Perception of Colleagues

Of the upper bureaucrats 18.3 per cent, 16.5 per cent of the middle and 11.5 per cent of the lower bureaucrats perceive frequent taking of drinks amongst their colleagues. Of the upper 61.1 per cent, 52.5 per cent of the middle and 37.5 per cent of the lower bureaucrats perceive less frequent taking of drinks amongst their colleagues. Of the upper 20.6 per cent, 31.0 per cent of the middle and 51.0 per cent of the lower bureaucrats do not perceive their colleagues to take drinks. There is a significant relationship between the frequency of taking drinks and hierarchy. The upper bureaucrats have higher perception of the taking of drinks amongst their colleagues followed by middle and lower categories of bureaucrats.

Of the non-technical bureaucrats 12.0 per cent, and 18.3 per cent of the technical bureaucrats have perceived frequent taking of drinks amongst their colleagues. Of the non-technical bureaucrats 44.7 per cent, and 54.7 per cent of the technical bureaucrats perceive less frequent taking of drinks, while 43.3 per cent of the non-technical and 27.0 per cent of technical bureaucrats do not perceive their colleagues to take drinks. The relationship is significant in the case of technical, non-technical category. The technical bureaucrats have higher perception of drinks for their colleagues.

Perception of Superiors

Of the upper bureaucrats 23.4 per cent, 18.0 per cent of the middle and 13.5 per cent of the lower bureaucrats perceive

high frequency of drink among their superiors. Of the upper bureaucrats 48.0 per cent, 44.5 per cent of the middle and 32.0 per cent of the lower bureaucrats have less frequent perception of drinks amongst their superiors. Of the upper bureaucrats 28.6 per cent, 37.5 per cent of the middle and 54.5 per cent of the lower bureaucrats do not perceive their superiors to be taking drinks. The relationship between hierarchy and such a perception is significant. Perception of taking drinks for superiors is highest amongst upper bureaucrats. Similarly, the perception of technical bureaucrats is high compared to the non-technical bureaucrats. Of the non-technical bureaucrats 14.9 per cent and 21.0 per cent of the technical bureaucrats perceive frequent drinking amongst their superiors. Of the non-technical 37.8 per cent, and 44.3 per cent of the technical bureaucrats have less frequent perception of taking drinks amongst their superiors, while 47.3 per cent of the non-technical and 34.7 per cent of the technical bureaucrats do not perceive their superiors to take drinks. The relationship in case of both the variables is significant.

Perception of Subordinates

Of the upper bureaucrats 8.6 per cent, 5.0 per cent of the middle and 8.5 per cent of the lower bureaucrats perceive high frequency of taking drinks amongst their subordinates. Of the upper bureaucrats 55.4 per cent, 43.5 per cent of the middle and 19.5 per cent of the lower bureaucrats perceive a low frequency of taking drinks amongst their subordinates while 36.0 per cent of the upper, 51.5 per cent of the middle and 72.0 per cent of the lower bureaucrats perceive their subordinates not to be taking drinks. Lower bureaucrats have low perception of drinks for their subordinates.

Of the non-technical bureaucrats 5.4 per cent and 9.0 per cent of the technical bureaucrats perceive high frequency of taking drinks amongst their subordinates, 35.3 per cent of the non-technical and 42.0 per cent of the technical bureaucrats perceive

a low frequency of taking drinks amongst their subordinates, while 59.3 per cent of the non-technical and 49.0 per cent of technical bureaucrats perceive their subordinates not to be taking drinks. The technical bureaucrats have high perception of taking drinks.

Thus 34.8 per cent of the bureaucrats think that their colleagues do not drink, 50 per cent of them think they drink occasionally while 15.3 per cent think that they drink frequently. Of the bureaucrats studied, 40.7 per cent think their superiors do not drink, 41.2 per cent think that they drink occasionally while 18.1 per cent think that they drink frequently. Of the bureaucrats studied, 53.9 per cent think that their subordinates do not drink, 38.8 per cent think that they drink occasionally while 7.3 per cent of them think that they drink frequently.

The perception of the upper bureaucrats for taking drinks is higher compared to the perception of middle and lower categories of bureaucrats. In the parties organised for and by high bureaucrats drinks frequently form part of the menu which has a cultural respectability. In some cases wives of the bureaucrats join husbands while other wives take soft drinks and lemon juice.

It is interesting to note that the upper and technical bureaucrats have high perception of taking drinks amongst their superiors, colleagues, and subordinates. This suggests self-projection of these categories.

Drinking is prohibited during office-hours. It affects efficiency and can distort the capacity of judgment. However, amongst certain bureaucratic positions and certain bureaucrats, to indulge in drinks in social or extra-official meetings or semi-official meetings, after office-hours, has become a norm. This institution of drink in a very subtle manner influences the process of decision-making and acts as a non-rational instrument in the realization of certain ends.⁴⁷

⁴⁷It was reported that at the time of integration of various States in Rajasthan, fixation of officials was done over a lavish drink party thrown by the collector of the State 'S' to the members of selection committee consisting of very high officials.

The faculties of criticism and self-control are lowered when one is drunk.⁶⁸

Extent of Smoking

The question of drinking is perceptual while the question on smoking habit is factual. Some form of smoking has always existed. In Mogul period 'Hukkah' was a common type of smoking. This continued in the princely States and various types of 'hukkabs' with artistic work adorning them have been in vogue. In rural setting in Rajasthan, 'chilam'—a sort of earthen pipe which could be shared with others on caste lines was used. 'Biri' has been another mode of smoking.

The causes for smoking may be diverse and variant. Customary prevalence of smoking, examples provided by parents and families, depth of commitment to personal religious codes and some psychological and personality characteristics of the individual himself are some of the causes⁶⁹ Besides, factors like curiosity, conformity pressures among adolescents, need for status among peers, striving for adult status, are some other factors which are responsible for initiation of smoking.⁷⁰

Of the bureaucrats studied, 16.5 per cent smoke frequently, 32 per cent less frequently, and 51.5 per cent of them do not smoke.⁷¹ Half of the bureaucrats do not smoke which suggests that smoking amongst bureaucrats is not as frequent as commonly assumed. Of the public bureaucrats 13.0 per cent and 20.4 per cent of the private bureaucrats smoke frequently. Further 29.3 per cent of the public and 34.9 per cent of the private bureaucrats smoke less frequently and 57.7 per cent of public and 44.7 per cent of the private bureaucrats do not smoke. There is a signifi-

⁶⁸Herman Levy, *Drink—An Economic and Social Study*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul 1951, p. 6

⁶⁹J. D. Matarazzo and R. G. Matarazzo, 'Smoking', in David L. Sills (ed.), *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, V, 14, USA: The Macmillan and Free Press, 1968, p. 339.

⁷⁰*Ibid.*, p. 338.

⁷¹The question runs as: Do you smoke? Frequently, Less frequently, Never.

cant relationship between type of bureaucracy and smoking. Industrial bureaucrats have greater extent of smoking. Industrial bureaucrats were reported to smoke more for personal satisfaction. In government departments which have public dealings tea, cigarettes, cold drinks are served frequently by the clients. Such entertainment is openly tolerated. Clients entertain the officials who are responsible for discharging the work of clients.

Industrial bureaucrats earn more salaries and spend more on comforts and conveniences of life. The personal style of life in terms of drinking and smoking influences bureaucratic functioning as it has various other consequences in relation to discharge of work and conformity-deviance to the bureaucratic norms.

Summary

Historically administration in India had been oriented to govern and rule and not to serve the masses. Both the Moguls and the British were alien to the soil and culture of India. They came as conquerors and were basically interested in the retention of their power. While the Moguls settled in India and made it their home the British interest was essentially colonial. They did not think of settling here.

It was necessary for the rulers to create a chasm with the masses. Authoritarian rule required fear, awe and respect for the rulers. Rulers—kings and their officials—led a highly exclusive life. It was reflected not only in their behaviour and attitude but also through their culture and style of life which was a typical high class culture. Britishers continued the culture of exclusiveness. The higher civil service maintained distance with the common people and kept itself aloof. They possessed the highest status which any society could bestow on an administrative cadre.

The material possessions of bureaucrats reveal the class position and appear to be a replica of class system of the Indian society. A large number of bureaucrats do not possess their own houses. However, upper, non-technical and public bureaucrats relatively have more houses. Radios and drawing room furniture have become common for people of lower middle class and these are possessed by most of the bureaucrats. Very few bureaucrats possess refrigerators and radiograms. People at upper level do possess them in greater number. Bureaucrats in the industries possess in greater number various modern articles of comfort and luxury. This is due to the fact that they get more salaries. Such style of life is also a compensatory behaviour of the private bureaucrats due to authority deprivation vis-a-vis public bureaucrats.

Higher civil service in India have had literary and intellectual traditions. Literature on many aspects of Indian life based on facts was produced by members of the ICS. Upper bureaucrats even today read humanistic-religious books and scientific-social books. Technical bureaucrats also read the above type of books. Lower bureaucrats read more humanistic-literary books.

Half of the bureaucrats do not read Hindi newspapers. Lower, public and non-technical bureaucrats read in greater number the local dailies. Hindi magazines are read by lower bureaucrats, and English magazines by upper bureaucrats. Hindi has been replaced only partially in official communication. Its use is more ritualistic and symbolic. However, there has not been overt resistance by government officials to the policy of replacing English by Hindi. Private bureaucrats make greater use of English in their official communication. Hobbies in the traditions of ICS do not exist for higher bureaucrats today. Movies and other activities have replaced hobbies like hunting. Upper, technical and private bureaucrats visit movies in greater number. Upper bureaucrats drink more. But half of the bureaucrats do not smoke. Facilities of servants have been reduced.

In the wake of western influence a number of changes were witnessed in the Indian society. The process of modernization had started prior to independence. Western technology

made possible introduction of railways, post-offices, printing press and modern education. Britishers also gave India a structure of rational-formal administration. Exclusive cultural life became more democratized gradually. After independence urban-educated middle class developed its own subculture irrespective of different occupations of its members. Social mobility from lower middle class to middle class was more pronounced. Articles of exclusive consumption became more widespread. Large scale production of these articles facilitated this process.

Newspapers, magazines, and books reached more homes and entire urban middle class got involved in the process of democratization. The aspiration to go up in the hierarchy became universally high. Opportunities for higher education greatly multiplied. Political leaders and a vast network of mass communication induced the idea of equality amongst all. The cultural and social life of bureaucrats did not remain exclusive. In fact high business executives and businessmen earn much more than high civil servants. Their style of life and pattern of consumption is more conspicuous. Higher civil servants have occasionally lamented their material deprivation in the present time. There is no subculture of bureaucrats as witnessed during earlier time.

However, the culture of bureaucrats in India does not reflect the mass-culture. It is an urban middle class subculture. Subculture of bureaucrats has been submerged in this new urban culture. New elements of western culture have been imbibed in the pattern of consumption, literary orientation, and recreational activities. Bureaucrats today read the same newspaper, possess same material articles, eat same food, see same movies, aspire for same things which members of urban middle class people do.

There is no direct relationship between bureaucratic role performance and possession of certain articles of convenience. Convenience and desire to look modern, motivate people to orient their living pattern in western style and to possess modern articles of consumption. The desire to possess such articles has become stronger. The gap between masses and bureaucrats continues to exist.

Even high government bureaucrats do not belong to upper and upper middle class of the society. The style of life of the upper bureaucrats has become more moderate and less luxurious, while the bureaucrats at middle and lower level have improved their standard of living. The desire to possess certain articles has been motivated by example and imitation of similar ranks. The traditional style of living has fast been replaced by the use of modern articles. The pattern of life reveals class system in Indian society and not any distinctive pattern of culture amongst bureaucrats. Bureaucrats, however, have lesser impact of traditional style of life. The style of life continues to be different from the life of the masses though the gap between upper and lower categories of bureaucrats has been reduced. The desire to be exclusive on the part of upper bureaucrats persists.

The material subculture, thus, is more universalistic and modern though some traditional-feudal elements have been amalgamated within its fold without any strains of fusion. Regional impact is minimal and it reveals more a national pattern. Classes in cities and towns have increasingly national references and hardly regional.

However, exclusiveness of high bureaucrats and their lack of identity with the masses, are in dissonance with goals of national development. Bureaucracy in India is the most potent agency of directed social change. Such a change is possible only when the middle and lower bureaucrats shed their indifference and apathy, and upper bureaucrats their sense of exclusiveness.

Value-Orientations of Bureaucrats

Study of the value-orientation of bureaucrats is an important aspect for the analysis of bureaucratic system. Understanding of bureaucracy, from a sociological perspective, depends on interlinking of various dimensions which form an integral whole.

Human values are enduring long-term goals directing and regulating behaviour adaptation.¹ They are the driving force of behaviour.² Values refer to those aspects of the actor's

¹Radha Kamal Mukerjee, *The Dimensions of Values*, London : George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1964, p. 16.

²S. Takder Alsajhmana, *Values as Integrating Forces in Personality, Society and Culture*, Kuala Lumpur : University of Malaya Press, 1966, p. 23.

orientation which commit him to the observation of certain norms, standards and criteria of selection.³ Such orientation is not random but tend to form a system having some organized set of rules.⁴ As a conception value may be explicit or implicit, distinctive of an individual or characteristic of a group, regarding desirable, which influences the selection from available modes, means and ends of action.⁵

Values are a code or standard which has some persistence over time and which places things on the approval-disapproval continuum for making selection.⁶ Values thus form part of actor's orientation, and enable him to make selection in terms of certain evaluative standard. In this sense values precede and guide action. A group value is distinctive of plurality of actors who repeatedly find themselves in common situations. Such specific situations lead to formation of values which are specific to the group and guide their behaviour.

The value system in Indian society has been undergoing changes due to the impact of various forces. Modern education, process of urbanization and industrialization, parliamentary democracy, mass media have influenced the value system in Indian society. In relation to the sub system of bureaucracy, the commitment to the nature of value-orientation assumes a great significance. The extent and pace of realization of new policy goals of government will depend upon bureaucrat's own commitment to certain values and their consistency or contradiction with values necessary for the realization of new policy goals of a democratic welfare state. In fact a comprehensive and durable structural change can come through its concomitant adoption of new values.

It is the relevance of value to actual behaviour that prompts

³T. Parsons and E. Shils, 'Categories of the Orientation and Organization of Action', in T. Parsons and E. Shils (eds.), *Towards a General Theory of Action*, New York : Harper and Row, 1962, p. 59.

⁴*Ibid*, p. 59.

⁵Clyde Kluckhohn, 'Values and Value-Orientations in the Theory of Action', in Parsons and Shils (eds.), *op. cit*, p. 395.

⁶*Ibid*, p. 395.

us to examine the following questions in relation to value-orientation of the bureaucrats.

What is the significance of the nature of value-orientation of the actors in relation to bureaucratic functioning ?

How does the particular nature of value-orientation affect the functioning of bureaucracy in relation to goals of development and nation building ?

What is the nature of consonance or dissonance between the value-commitment of bureaucrats with rational norms of bureaucracy ?

What is the extent and nature of commitment of bureaucrats to the traditional values (particularistic-ascriptive) and the modern, liberal and rational values (universalistic-achievement) ?

We have tried to examine the value-orientations of bureaucrats by presenting certain statements to them. The first set of questions are direct, in which certain statements have been given to the bureaucrats. The responses given are in terms of degree of agreeability and disagreeability.

The second set of questions are projective in which certain situations have been presented, with a view to ascertaining the reactions of bureaucrats in terms of (a) projective self, (b) conscious self, and (c) ethical self.

The first set of questions have been divided into three categories of value-orientations.

- (1) *Social Values* : Statements related to the basic social institutions.
- (2) *Political Values* : Statements related to political commitment.
- (3) *Bureaucratic Values* : Statements related to rational functioning of bureaucracy, administrative efficiency and transfer, and means of planning.

Efforts have been made to analyze the statements related to social values in terms of traditionalism and modernity, statements related to political values in terms of liberalism, state-

ments related to bureaucratic norms in terms of rational and non-rational perception, and projective situational statements in terms of universalism and particularism.

Value-Orientation in Relation to Social Institutions

We examine herewith each category delineated above. Social values relate to two basic institutions in Indian society. The nature of commitment of bureaucrats in relation to modernity and traditionalism can be understood on the basis of their responses to social values.

Statement Related to Caste

The first statement relates to caste system and runs as :

Caste system is a drag on the forces of development. There is no possibility of a better society in India till it lasts.

Caste is a unique institution in India. The other-worldly character of Indian religion and the caste system have been considered two principal aspects of Indian society and culture.⁷ It has led to hierarchical division of society, specialization, and repulsion towards castes lower in hierarchy.⁸ The influence of caste is pervasive. It has spread its tentacles in every aspect of Indian life. It bedevils carefully drawn plans of economic development, defeats legislative effort to bring about social reform and its overpowering influence is so great that

⁷Lloyd Fallers, 'Equality, Modernity and Democracy in the New States', in Oliford Geertz (ed.), *Old Societies and New States*, London : The Free Press of Glencoe, 1963, p. 176.

⁸C. Bougle, 'The Essence and Reality of the Caste System', in Dumont and Pocock (eds.), *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, The Hague : Mouton and Co., No. II, April, 1958, p. 9.

even the administrative and academic elite is not free from it.⁹

Status is ascribed in caste ridden society. Caste has been considered to be responsible for slow progress in science and technology. Progress and development based on equalitarian diffusion of benefits is possible in a society which is oriented to rational and universalistic norms. Under the impact of various modern forces caste has undergone various changes both in minimization of its impact in certain area as well as extension and encompassing of certain new areas which emerged in the wake of impact of modern forces.

We find that 70.8 per cent of the bureaucrats agree with the statement and consider it a drag on the forces of development. This suggests rational-modern orientation of bureaucrats whereby caste has been perceived as an obstacle to national development by bureaucrats. Despite the above responses revealing rational orientation of bureaucrats there are certain spheres where the influence of caste continues to dominate. Selection in marriage continues to be caste-based. Even in urban areas and amongst educated families inter-caste marriages are rare. This is a traditional area of influence. Another area of influence of caste relates to voting behaviour. Interestingly, with democracy and freedom caste loyalties have not vanished.¹⁰ The studies of Srinivas¹¹ and Harrison¹² support the view. In fact with the coming of independence, Indianization of administration, and parliamentary democracy, caste and community have been able to move out of the villages and penetrate further towards the Centre than ever before.¹³ Even in recruitment to various jobs, which is ideally required to be

⁹Yogesh Atal, *The Changing Frontiers of Caste*, Delhi : National, 1968, p. vii.

¹⁰C. von Furer-Haimendorf, 'Caste and Politics in South Asia', in C. H. Philips (ed.), *Politics and Society in India*, London : George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1963, p. 53.

¹¹See M.N. Srinivas 'Caste in Modern India', *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. XVI, 1956-7, p. 548.

¹²See Selig S. Harrison, *India : The Most Dangerous Decade*, Madras : Oxford University Press, 1960, pp. 204-225.

¹³W.H. Morris-Jones, 'India's Political Idiom', in C.H. Philips (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 145.

Table 8:1—Value-Orientations in Relation to Social Institutions, Political Commitment and Bureaucratic Norms

Value commitment	Nature of response		No Response	Hierarchy	Specialization	Type
	Agree	Disagree				
<i>I. Social Values</i>						
a. Caste	407 (70.8)	138 (24.0)	30 (5.2)	Not significant $\chi^2 = 0.51$ $P < 0.95$	Significant $\chi^2 = 9.53$ $P < 0.01$	Significant $\chi^2 = 4.78$ $P < 0.05$
b. Marriage	311 (54.1)	228 (39.6)	36 (6.3)	Not significant $\chi^2 = 2.23$ $P < 0.50$	Not significant $\chi^2 = 1.13$ $P < 0.30$	Significant $\chi^2 = 15.27$ $P < .001$
<i>II. Political Values</i>						
a. Democracy	360 (62.6)	182 (31.7)	33 (5.7)	Not significant $\chi^2 = 2.71$ $P < 0.30$	Significant $\chi^2 = 8.17$ $P < 0.01$	Not significant $\chi^2 = 0.24$ $P < 0.70$
b. Socialism	323 (56.2)	188 (32.7)	64 (11.1)	Not significant $\chi^2 = 1.47$ $P < 0.50$	Significant $\chi^2 = 13.50$ $P < .001$	Not significant $\chi^2 = 1.51$ $P < 0.30$
<i>III. Bureaucratic rational values</i>						
a. Competence in relation to selection and work allocation	True 192 (33.4)	Partially True 162 (28.2)	Not True 221 (38.4)	Significant $\chi^2 = 12.39$ $P < 0.05$	Not significant $\chi^2 = 1.10$ $P < 0.70$	Significant $\chi^2 = 69.72$ $P < .001$
b. Formal and impersonal nature of bureaucracy	339 (59.0)	167 (29.0)	69 (12.0)	Significant $\chi^2 = 15.45$ $P < .01$	Not significant $\chi^2 = 5.90$ $P < 0.10$	Not significant $\chi^2 = 1.45$ $P < 0.50$

based on universalistic criterion, considerations of caste have been reported to exist. In private bureaucratic organizations in Rajasthan, some appointments in non-technical cadres were thought to have been influenced by considerations of caste.

This suggests the great potentiality of traditional system to penetrate and influence the modern-rational spheres of activities and thus traditionalize modernity.

Of the non-technical bureaucrats 65.4 per cent and 75.7 per cent of the technical bureaucrats agree with the above statement. There is a significant relationship between specialization and agreement with the statement. Technical people have training in science subjects, belong to younger age group and have been reported to be involved more intimately with the tasks of development.

In the changing situation traditional institution of caste has adopted new functions which are in contradiction with the functional prerequisites of the modern rational-universalistic institution. The prevailing social structure puts constraints on caste to discard traditional-old functions and the same social structure also facilitates continuing influence of traditional institutions in the wake of modern activities. This shows structural flexibility and actor's ambivalence.

Statement Related to Marriage

The second statement runs :

The best form of marriage is by free choice of boys and girls whether within caste or outside

Endogamy is the chief characteristic of caste. Marriages in India have had been arranged by parents. Free choice of boys and girls in marriage was out of question. Hindu marriage has been considered a sacrament. On social plane marriage was arranged by parents on consideration of status of the family. Marriage, if it is to be based on the free choice of boys and girls, implies a number of operational prerequisites. Exercise of free choice would mean opportunity for free mixing of girls

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and boys on the one hand, and not only social tolerance but social recognition of such phenomenon on the other. It would also mean non-recognition of caste since love shall be the basis of free choice. Such marriages can essentially destroy caste-structure since it is caste endogamy which has perpetuated the caste system. It is important to note that while 70.8 per cent of the bureaucrats have agreed to the first statement, only 54 per cent agreed to this statement. Objection to free choice in marriage is largely due to the fear that such marriages would take place outside caste. This suggests that bureaucrats easily discern a contradiction between caste which is based on high particularism and development tasks which necessitate high universalism but they do not see such a marked contradiction in relation to marriage. In the latter case consequences are personal and are not likely to influence national development.

Value-Orientation in Relation to Political Commitment

Political value statements relate to two important aspects of the commitment of the national government. They characterize the extent of liberalism to which the bureaucrats are committed. These relate to democracy as a form of government and socialism as a means of attainment of economic growth.

Statement Related to Democracy

The statement runs as :

Democracy in the present socio-economic situation of India is more harmful than advantageous.

Bureaucrats function at the moment under a democratic set-up wherein at the apex of bureaucracy, elected leaders wield power and formulate policies which are executed by bureaucrats. This is fundamentally different from the situation

which existed in the pre-independence era where the powers of bureaucrats were not limited or controlled by any superior, near, or immediate political authority. Indigenous bureaucrats, in the colonial era, were accustomed to unrestrained governmental behaviour where they developed, at best, a sense of guardianship towards the masses and, at worst, a sense of disdainful superiority.¹⁴ They were responsible for both general policy formulations and their execution. After independence, there has been an abrupt and sudden change whereby the bureaucracy trained in colonial set up was under strain to adjust to the new goals set by democratically elected politicians.

To some, democracy on the basis of universal adult franchise appears to be a bold step in a country which is so vast and which is predominantly rural with low literacy. The reactions on the acceptance and functioning of democracy in this country have been diverse and there is an opinion, not only amongst common man but even intellectuals and different elite groups, which considers dictatorship for a specified period necessary to accelerate the process of development, eradication of corruption, and improvement of administration. They consider that the country is yet not ready for democracy as it does not fulfil certain prerequisites. It is believed by some that successful democratic functioning assumes certain functional prerequisites. There is a need for raising the level of literacy, inculcating a nation-wide sense of secularization, and reducing the great gap between elite and masses, to see political change move in a democratic direction.¹⁵

We find that 62.6 per cent of the bureaucrats consider democracy to be harmful in present socio-economic situation of the country. This reaction, specially by the bureaucrats who are responsible for carrying out the policies of the democratically elected leaders, will have its impact on the functioning of the bureaucracy. This implies that they are not committed to the

¹⁴Joseph La Palombara, 'An Overview of Bureaucracy and Political Development', in Joseph La Palombara (ed.), *Bureaucracy and Political Development*, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1963, p. 59.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 59.

value of democracy and still function in that milieu. A basic question can be posed here : What shall be the nature of involvement of people, if they have to work within a system which is contrary to their expectations and value-orientations ?

It is found that 59.0 per cent of the non-technical bureaucrats and 68.3 per cent of the technical bureaucrats consider democracy to be harmful in the present-day society. There is a significant relationship between the nature of response and specialization. The technical bureaucrats have observed that democratization has led to greater indiscipline amongst labour class. It has raised aspirations and created consciousness of rights but correspondingly has not raised their sense of responsibility. They feel that the process of industrialization and greater production is possible if there is a greater sense of discipline.

Statement related to Socialism

All economic troubles of our nation have been caused by emphasis on socialism and public sector which have no incentive for economic investment and growth.

We find that 56.2 per cent of the bureaucrats agree with this statement. They believe that emphasis on socialism and public sector has led to economic troubles in our country. Such a reaction is significant for half of the bureaucrats are not committed to the policy of the government. A very common comment by the bureaucrats has been that public sector has brought greater inefficiency and jeopardised the economy of the country. A bureaucrat remarked :

Socialism, in spite of being a declared and dominant policy of the government, has not borne any fruit to the society.

Of the non-technical bureaucrats 50.2 per cent and 61.7 per cent of the technical bureaucrats agree with the above statement. There is thus a significant relationship between agreement with the statement and specialization. Technical bureaucrats perceive greater inefficiency of governmental functioning.

A large number of bureaucrats consider democracy and socialism inadequate instruments for national development. It is

significant to note that government is committed to both the goals. What consequences shall follow if a large number of bureaucrats have values which are in contradiction with the policies of the government? It is through bureaucracy that these goals are sought to be realized. In this connection the question raised by Bendix assumes great significance :

Should public employees be permitted to retain all the rights of the private citizen, or should certain special restrictions be imposed on them in view of their responsibilities and powers as public officials.

Bendix himself has given three possible alternatives. One view is that the roles are compatible and the public servant should enjoy all the rights of a private citizen. This view has been called *democratic plebiscitarianism*. At the other extreme is the view that civil servants should provide positive political support to the government in power. This has been called *autocratic plebiscitarianism*. Between these extremes is the position which urges upon all public employees the ideal of political neutrality. This leads to impartiality and public confidence.¹⁶ The question of committed bureaucracy has been raised recently due to apathy and indifference of public bureaucracy to realization of national goals.

Value-Orientation in Relation to Bureaucratic Norms

The nature of commitment of the bureaucrats to the rational-legal characteristics of the system to which they belong is very significant. The four statements which are being discussed relate to : allocation of work on competence and rational method of selection; formal and impersonal nature of bureaucracy, administrative efficiency and transfer; and nature of the means of planning undertaken in India. The first two state-

¹⁶Reinhard Bendix, *Nation-Building and Citizenship*, New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1964, pp. 117-118.

ments relate to basic requirements of rational-legal bureaucracy, the third to the actual functioning of bureaucracy and the fourth to the role of bureaucracy in relation to development.

Statements related to Administrative Efficiency

The first statement runs as under :

Allocation of work in the administration as you know is based on competence and rational methods of selection.

Allocation of work is important in the context of division of labour which is one of the characteristics of bureaucracy. Distribution of work and its assignment ideal-typically has to be made on the basis of competence and rational methods of selection to obtain maximum efficiency. In practice, however, subjective bias and particularism enter into the process of assignment of work. For example in firm 'K', with the change of General Manager, the number of subordinates who were attached to him were changed in terms of power position and work assignment. Those who were not doing important work were given important work and more powers.

Even in the mode of selection particularistic criteria were thought to influence. We find that 33.4 per cent of the bureaucrats consider this statement to be true, 28.2 per cent partly true and 38.4 per cent not true. There is thus a low perception regarding allocation of work and on competence and rational method of selection. Further, 47.3 per cent of the private bureaucrats consider this statement to be true, 30.9 per cent fairly true and 21.8 per cent not true, while 20.7 per cent of the public bureaucrats consider the statement to be true, 25.7 per cent fairly true and 53.7 per cent not true.

There is a significant relationship between commitment to the above value and type of bureaucracy. A large number of public bureaucrats consider this statement to be untrue. In matters of temporary appointment in government, quite often, vacancies are filled up on particularistic criteria. Political influence is reported to be exerted in matters connected with

appointments. For all sorts of appointments influence of minister was reported. A bureaucrat remarked :

Even in the appointment of a peon ministers try to exert their influence. Posts are filled temporarily and by the time the Public Service Commission makes a final selection the temporary incumbent gets work-experience which helps him in the final selection. There is a great effort to get recommendations through certain sources and even those who are competent and qualified try to seek recommendations lest their claim should be ignored. Procedurally, however, posts are properly advertised and recruitment is done through well laid down rational rules.

In private concerns, only such recommendations matter, which come from persons who have potentiality of helping or harming the concern. Industrial concerns accept recommendations from meaningful politicians and high bureaucrats. Formal interviews are nominal. Two new industries recently established at Kota by well-known industrial houses have a regular scheme of selecting young people for their management cadre. Such jobs are well paid and are based on elaborate and careful methods of recruitment.

The second statement is :

The administrative system as you know it tends to be formal and impersonal.

The administrative system is so structured that it is formal and impersonal. Rules and regulations are enacted to maximize efficiency and to facilitate rational decisions. However, in actual functioning informality and personalized behaviour are inevitable. This can happen in a partial manner whereby the formalistic impersonality of the system endures though complete all pervading formality does not exist.

Merton implies that impersonality and procedural orientation are widespread persistent phenomena rather than transitory.¹⁷ Complete impersonality is an impossibility. One can be impersonally related to the system but not to the people

¹⁷Robert K. Merton, 'Bureaucratic Structure and Personality', in Robert K. Merton *et al*, *Reader in Bureaucracy*, Illinois: The Free Press, 1960, pp. 368-369.

working in the bureaucracy. A personal relation is the result of a continuing process of association wherein there is a feeling of obligation between the persons involved, while impersonal relationship refers to members as categories.¹⁸ Major bonds of organization stress impersonality according to the findings of Francis and Stone.¹⁹

It is true that impersonal administration provides regularity, detachment, calculability and other positive attributes, but these gains are linked with disregard of person and circumstance and hence of considerations of equality.²⁰ Impersonality inherently thus has both functional and dysfunctional aspects. In our study 59 per cent of the bureaucrats consider this statement to be true, 29 per cent consider it to be partially true, and 12 per cent do not consider it to be true.

Informality exists in patches and subsumes parts of bureaucratic system. It does not reflect a patterned institutionalization at the level of the totality of bureaucratic system. The size and the dimensions of public bureaucracy are so large that greater formality and impersonality are inevitable. The informality operating in parts or at the level of sub-system occurs due to structural limitations of the system to accomplish tasks efficiently or actor's motivation to achieve personal ends contrary to rational means-end scheme of bureaucracy. People in bureaucracy are brought together by design. They can be transferred, they retire, and can be dismissed on certain grounds. Thus relations are meant to be formal. Through initial formal relationship informality and personalized relationships can grow due to long and continuous association with people in the same work situation. It may also happen that people with personalized relationship may by chance be together in official situations and keep their earlier affective, informal ties.

Thus, largely, relations in bureaucracy tend to remain formal. Even send-offs and parties, though not part of bureaucracy, are impersonal since such events are oriented to the official

¹⁸R. G. Francis and Robert C. Stone, *Service and Procedure in Bureaucracy*, Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1956, p. 96.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, p. 104.

²⁰Reinhard Berdix, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

position and not the person. They get routinized. Such occasions become ceremonial and parties become ritualistic.

We find that 68.5 per cent of the lower bureaucrats consider the statement to be true, while 57.5 per cent of the middle and 49.7 per cent of the upper level of bureaucrats consider this statement to be true. There is a greater perception of informality by the upper level bureaucrats followed by middle and lower rank bureaucrats. The upper level of bureaucracy being pyramidal at the top is a small group which is more homogeneous hence people know each other more personally. Such a nature of relationship increases the possibility of informal relationship at the upper level.

The third statement runs as :

Transfers of officials are motivated by factors other than administrative efficiency.

Another bureaucratic value relates to the phenomenon of transfer in bureaucracy. Transfer of officials helps in impartial functioning of large-scale public bureaucracy. Public bureaucracy, as a large-scale organization, has its root in every city, town and village through its officials spread all over.

Performance of similar work continuously for a long time may result into concentration of excessive power due to intimate understanding of all intricacies of the work or it may lead to trained incapacity in which other person's point of view is not seen. No one person is to be considered indispensable in bureaucratic functioning and the stress is on the office rather than on the person who occupies it. Transfer thus becomes a feature of a public bureaucrat's career. However, too frequent or too rare transfers may pose problems leading to personal, familial, and organizational strains. Normally, according to the rules of government, transfers should not take place in less than three years. However, people stay for longer or shorter periods depending on a variety of factors. Transfer to positions which carry less esteem and power, and to places which are remote or devoid of facilities are some of the main strains of bureaucrats.

General official prestige is determined by the cadres, and the specific, by the post which one holds. Certain posts have high

Table 8:2—Value-Orientations in relation to Transfer and Planning

Statement Related to	Nature of response			Significance in relation to variables		
	Agree	Disagree	Do not know	Total	Hierarchy	Specialization
Transfer is motivated by factors other than administrative efficiency	455 (79.1)	120 (20.9)	—	575 (100.0)	Not significant $\chi^2_1 = 1.87$ $P < 0.50$	Not significant $\chi^2_1 = 0.89$ $P < 0.50$
					Significant $\chi^2_1 = 103.86$ $P < 0.001$	Significant $\chi^2_1 = 103.86$ $P < 0.001$
Means of planning are defective	431 (75.0)	42 (7.3)	102 (17.7)	575 (100.0)	Significant $\chi^2_2 = 7.58$ $P < 0.05$	Not significant $\chi^2_1 = 0.002$ $P < 0.99$
					Significant $\chi^2_1 = 4.77$ $P < 0.05$	Significant $\chi^2_1 = 4.77$ $P < 0.05$

status due to the power which is enjoyed by its incumbent and its nature of work. There is, therefore, great variation in the posts in relation to the official status they provide. Sometimes there is no status congruence between the post and the cadre. A post which could be manned by RAS is given to an IAS. Such low status congruence leads to various consequences for the incumbent. People placed in the low status congruence posting react in a variety of ways. Withdrawal or failure to participate is one reaction. Officials were reported to have gone on long leave when transferred to a place or post of dislike. Political influence operates the maximum in matters of transfers and postings.

Transfers were found to operate at the following levels :

1. Intra-department —within the same office premises.
2. Intra-department —place is different.
3. Inter-department —place is same.
4. Inter-department —place is different.
5. When on promotion i.e. in a higher hierarchy —in any of the above four ways.

Transfers in private bureaucracy are generally from one department to another and in a few cases, from one branch to another. Industries do not have such a large network of organisation as that of governmental bureaucracy. In government, transfer is necessitated lest the person should acquire so much power as to misuse it and transfer becomes a check on this tendency. In private bureaucracy the experience of a person in one position, till it is helpful, is utilized and when it is felt that the person is not giving proper results he is transferred.

To the question, do you think transfers of officials are also motivated by factors other than administrative efficiency, 79.1 per cent of the bureaucrats replied in affirmative and 20.9 per cent in the negative. There is thus a significant number of officials who consider extraneous factors responsible for transfer. There is low perception regarding transfers being necessary from the point of view of rational set up of bureaucracy. Transfer is a feature essentially of public bureaucracy. In our

study 95.7 per cent of the public and 61.1 per cent of the private bureaucrats consider that officials are transferred on non-rational consideration.

The public bureaucrats have a very high perception of extraneous non-rational factors being responsible for transfer. The major interest of the officials is proper posting and career. The major interest of the politicians is to be in power and eliminate all political opposition whether from within the party or outside. Both have their primary orientation in maintaining and achieving these goals, irrespective of consequences for administrative efficiency.

A high-ranking public bureaucrat remarked :

In some districts organized actions were taken to get transferred Collector and other officials. Scores of telegrams were sent, local press gave bold front page news regarding the real or false atrocities of the officials, pamphlets were distributed, delegations came to Jaipur, the State capital, to meet the Chief Minister and pressurized him to transfer the official. A minister or an important M.L.A. becomes successful in getting an official transferred if he does not get along well with local politicians. Ministers, for reasons of political expediency, succumb to local pressure.

In bureaucracy no person is considered to be indispensable. The structure of bureaucracy and its working procedure has got to be so institutionalised that whosoever be the incumbent, with normal training and average intelligence, he should be able to carry out the work. This is consistent with the rational requirements of bureaucracy

Statement related to Planning

Means of planning and development undertaken by Government are defective.

Value-orientation with regard to planning is significant in a developing nation in which national goals are being sought. Planning in India has to organize efficient exploitation of the resources of the country and increase production. The basic goal is a rapid increase in the standard of living of the people through measures which promote equality and social justice.

Emphasis has been placed on the common man and the less privileged, through refashioning of socio-economic institutions.²¹

Evaluations of five year plans have showed mixed and diverse opinions. Bureaucracy has been the most important agency through which the plans have been implemented in different phases. Therefore, their perception about success, failure, and deficiencies of plan are of great significance. A high negative perception of planning and its implementation is likely to lead to greater internal frustration, low morale, and reduced encouragement for the implementation of plan. To the question whether the means of planning are defective 75 per cent of the bureaucrats think that the means of planning are defective, 17.7 per cent are not sure of their opinion, while 7.3 per cent think that they are not defective. There is lack of faith in the way the plans are formulated and implemented. If three-fourth of the bureaucrats have a negative perception about the implementation of plan, it can be assumed that their own involvement in the execution of planning is pessimistic and unenthusiastic. Such an attitude shall have repercussions on the success of plans.

There is a significant relationship with the variable of hierarchy. We find that 81.2 per cent of the upper, 74.0 per cent of the middle, and 70.5 per cent of the lower bureaucrats consider means of planning to be defective. The upper bureaucrats have greater negative perception of planning implementation. They have more intimate relationship and knowledge of the formulation of the plan and policy decisions which are taken in this connection. Various bottlenecks are more perceptible and clear to them since they watch the situation more closely. The question assumes greater significance in the light of the fact that a greater number of higher bureaucrats have negative perception. Similarly, 80 per cent of the public bureaucrats and 69.4 per cent of the private bureaucrats consider the means of planning to be defective. It is the public bureaucracy which is directly involved in the implementation of plans.

²¹Government of India : *Fourth Five Year Plan*, Planning Commission, Delhi, 1970, p. 4.

The reasons for their negative perception have been categorized into four types.²² (1) defective formulation, (2) lack of resources, (3) defective execution, and (4) institutional limitations.

We find that 65.7 per cent of the responses view defective formulation as the cause for the failure of plans, 45.9 per cent view lack of resources, 73.5 per cent defective execution and 53.4 per cent institutional limitations. Defective execution has high perception. The failure of the plans is largely due to the way in which they are being implemented and due to the machinery which is responsible for their execution. The second important reason relates to the way the plans have been formulated. Plans have been considered as theoretical and unrealistic. Practical experience and pragmatic orientation are considered to be lacking in the formulation of the plans. Institutional limitations, which are located in structural and cultural context of Indian society, and lack of resources have been considered comparatively less important factors.

Private bureaucrats consider the defective formulation of plans a less important cause of the failure of plans and lack

²²The responses to the open-ended question asking for reasons for the failure of plans have been categorized as under :

- (a) *Defective formulation* : which includes answers such as unrealistic plans, wrong priorities, plans based on bookish knowledge, paper planning, Indian situation and culture ignored, plans based on wrong data, guided by party interests etc. were grouped into the category, *defective formulation*
- (b) *Lack of resources* which includes answers such as lack of money, economic handicap, foreign aid, low taxation, poor country, etc were grouped together in the category of lack of resources.
- (c) *Defective execution* : which includes answers such as bad implementation, red tapism, decentralization at very early stage, wasteful expenditure, lack of initiative, lack of responsibility etc were grouped in the category of defective execution.
- (d) *Institutional limitations* : which includes answers such as lack of proper personnel, illiteracy, political interference, demoralized bureaucracy, etc , were categorized as institutional limitations. Respondents have given more than one causes as answer to the question.

Table 8:3—Reasons for the Failure of Plans

Type	Defective formulation	Lack of resources	Defective execution	Institutional limitations
Public	172 (71.4)	70 (29.0)	198 (82.2)	129 (53.5) Each out of N=241
Private	111 (58.1)	128 (67.0)	119 (62.3)	101 (52.9) Each out of N=191
Total	283 (65.5)	198 (45.8)	317 (73.4)	230 (53.2) Each out of N=432

of resources as a more important factor. They perceive lack of resources as a major factor in slow industrialization of the country and consider this lag as the main reason for failure of the plans.

To the question, 'What measures should be adopted for improving the plan?', the answers were categorized into four groups:²³ (1) proper formulation of the plan, (2) resource mobilization, (3) proper execution, and (4) the institutional upliftment.

In the study, 49.4 per cent of the responses view proper formulation, 34.6 per cent resource mobilization, 50.8 per cent proper execution and 42.3 per cent institutional upliftment as necessary conditions for successful implementation of plans.

²³The responses have been categorized as under:

- (1) *Proper formulation of the plan*: which includes answers such as plans should be within means, greater emphasis should be laid on private sector, practical planning, should be modest in aims, duplication of schemes should be avoided, felt needs should be taken care of, scrap plans, encourage private sector, etc.
- (2) *Resource mobilization*: which includes answers such as wastage should be avoided, matching finance, resources should be available, money spent on Panchayat Raj should be spent in other areas, etc.
- (3) *Proper execution*: which includes answers such as interchange of staff between government and private concerns, strong and strict administration, properly trained staff, decentralization of powers, proper coordination, proper recognition of technical personnel, defining areas of responsibility, right recruitment, etc.
- (4) *The institutional upliftment*: which includes answers such as proper education, casteism should be abolished, no political interference, dishonest people should be severely punished, higher salaries, etc.

Table 8 : 4—Suggestions for Successful Implementation of Plan and Type

<i>Type</i>	<i>Proper formu- lation</i>	<i>Resource mobili- zation</i>	<i>Proper execution</i>	<i>Institutional upliftment</i>	<i>N=</i>
Public	178 (59.3)	87 (29.0)	182 (60.7)	149 (49.7)	Each out of 300
Private	106 (38.5)	112 (40.7)	110 (40.0)	94 (34.2)	Each out of 275
Total	284 (49.4)	199 (34.6)	292 (50.8)	243 (42.3)	Each out of 575

There is logical consistency between the causes for failure of plans and means suggested for making them successful. Planning thus has been considered to be defective by a large number of respondents. It is being increasingly felt that bureaucracy will have to play a more committed and involved role to make the plans a success. Bureaucracy oriented to the maintenance of law and order tends to develop an attitude and outlook which is ill-equipped for implementation of plans designed for the welfare of common man. Re-socialization and inculcation of new values, in consonance with the tasks of development are necessary prerequisites for successful implementation of plans. Those who are at the centre of administration may spin out extremely insightful national plans, but these shall be meaningless to the population if field administrators do not have the talent to execute the plans effectively.²¹

A change in the outlook and approach of bureaucrats in relation to task of development is necessary. Such new norms do not appear to have emerged.²² Public bureaucrats steeped in the tradition of the Indian Civil Service, having reservations

²¹La Palombara, 'An Overview of Bureaucracy and Political Development', in Joseph La Palombara (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 7.

²²S. C. Dube, 'Strategies of Community Development', *Community Development and Panchayati Raj Digest*, National Institute of Community Development, Vol. 2, No. 2, Oct., 1970, pp. 134-136.

and resistance, doubts and cynicism pose some important problems for the formulation and implementation of development programmes.²⁶

Universalistic-Particularistic Value-Orientations

This section deals with the projective questions which have been administered to the respondents by way of formulation of certain situations. One of the pattern-variables was selected for this purpose. Pattern-variable is a dichotomy, one side of which must be chosen by an actor before he can act in respect to the situation.²⁷

In the present study we have chosen the pattern-variables of universalism-particularism—which has been found to be logically most appropriate to the analysis of rational bureaucratic system. The pattern-variables are most important as characteristics of value standards—either of a personality, or the value standards defining the roles of a society or just value standards in the abstract.²⁸ A given value-orientation or some particular aspect of it may be interpreted as imposing a preference or giving a primacy to one alternative over the other in a particular type of situation.²⁹ There is the direction of selection in a defined situation.

The dilemma of transcendence versus immanence relates to the pattern-variable of universalism-particularism. The actor in this situation faces the dilemma 'whether to treat the objects in the situation in accordance with a general norm covering all objects in that class or whether to treat them in

²⁶*Ibid.*, p. 135.

²⁷Parsons and Shils, 'Categories of the Orientation and Organization of Action', in Parsons and Shils (eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 77.

²⁸*Ibid.*, p. 78.

²⁹*Ibid.*, p. 79.

accordance with their standing in some particular relationship to him'.³⁰

The bureaucrats have been given three situations. They are required to choose between two alternatives—one signifying universalism and the other particularism—from the imaginary situations. The stimuli of all the situations relate to the functioning of bureaucracy in some way or the other. Analysis of the responses has been made at three levels of self-projective self, conscious self and ethical self. All the three situations, however, differ in their theme, and hence in the strength of stimuli.

Situation One

The situation one runs as under :

A and his friend B are treasurer since a long time in a govt. treasury/private firm. B suddenly reports to A that his brother will face a business collapse if he does not get Rs. 10000/- immediately. B proposes to A to transfer this money for one day to his brother from the treasury. A is sure that in such a case he would not be detected and the money will be returned. Yet it is illegal. (a) What A will do ? (b) What you would do ? (c) What one should do ?

Level of Projected Self

Of the bureaucrats studied 30.6 per cent said that 'A' would give the money, while 69.4 per cent of the respondents thought that he would not give the money. In the case of projected self there is high universalistic orientation. The risk involved is high in this case and it needs a certain degree of personal sacrifice to deviate from the norms of bureaucracy. It is more pragmatic to be universalistic in such a situation.

We find that 25.3 per cent of the public bureaucrats and 36.4 per cent of the private bureaucrats have particularistic

³⁰*Ibid.*, p. 81.

Table 8:5—Projective Analysis of Universalistic-Particularistic Values
(Situation One)

Level of Self	Nature of response		Nature of significance in relation to variables			
	Particu- laristic	Unversa- listic	Total	Hierarchy	Specialization	Type
Projected self (what A would have done)	176 (30.6)	399 (69.4)	575 (100.0)	Not significant $\chi^2 = 0.52$ $P < 0.80$	Not significant $\chi^2 = 1.68$ $P < 0.20$	Significant $\chi^2 = 8.21$ $P < 0.01$
Conscious self (what you would have done)	56 (9.7)	519 (90.3)	575 (100.0)	Significant $\chi^2 = 11.77$ $P < 0.01$	Not significant $\chi^2 = 2.65$ $P < 0.20$	Significant $\chi^2 = 5.35$ $P < 0.05$
Ethical self (what one should do)	34 (5.9)	541 (94.1)	575 (100.0)	Significant $\chi^2 = 9.18$ $P < 0.02$	Not significant $\chi^2 = 0.008$ $P < 0.98$	Not significant $\chi^2 = 0.37$ $P < 0.70$
Total	266 (13.4)	1459 (84.6)	1725 (100.0)	Chi square of total : $\chi^2 = 155.71$ $P < .001$		

orientation, at the level of projected self. The relationship between the two is high. The private bureaucrats reveal higher particularistic orientation.

Level of Conscious Self

In the case of conscious self only 9.7 per cent of the people's responses are particularistic while 90.3 per cent of the people have universalistic responses. 3.4 per cent of the upper, 11.5 per cent of the middle and 13.5 per cent of the lower level of bureaucrats have particularistic orientation. There is a significant relationship between hierarchy and nature of particularistic orientation. The middle and lower categories of bureaucrats, at the level of conscious self, are more particularistic in orientation.

Level of Ethical Self

In the case of ethical self 5.9 per cent of the bureaucrats have particularistic orientation while 94.1 per cent of them have universalistic orientation. Universalistic orientation is highest in the case of ethical self. We find that 1.7 per cent of the upper, 6.5 per cent of the middle and 9.0 per cent of the lower bureaucrats have particularistic orientation. Thus the difference is significant on the basis of hierarchy. The middle and lower categories of bureaucrats are more particularistic oriented at the level of ethical self also. The affective ties are likely to be greater at the middle and lower hierarchies due to sharing of deprivations which necessitate greater interpersonal dependence. There is thus greater sense of mutual dependence.

By combining all the levels of consciousness, we observe that 84.6 per cent of the bureaucrats are universalistic while 15.4 per cent of the bureaucrats are particularistic. There is signifi-

cant relationship between level of consciousness and particularistic-universalistic mode of value-orientation. Projective self tends to be more particularistic as compared to conscious self and ethical self.

Situation Two

A and B are friends. There are inquiries against A for taking bribes. B knows that A has taken bribe and is habituated to such wrong means of gratification. When called upon to testify (a) what B will do, (b) what you would do, (c) what one should do ?

Level of Projected Self

We find that 60.2 per cent of the bureaucrats are particularistic at the level of projected self while 39.8 per cent of the bureaucrats are universalistic in their orientation. The reason for not testifying such a situation could be either consideration of personal ties and friendship or fear of being 'involved' in the situation. This is a situation in which one can avoid one's involvement without losing anything. The consideration of non-involvement is pragmatic.

As one bureaucrat remarked :

No one desires to get involved in such situations. Even when there is an accident on the road, people do not come forward to give evidence fearing that they would be unnecessarily put to questioning and possible subsequent harassment. After all they do not get anything out of it.

Thus in this case, there is pragmatic particularism, while in the former it was affective-particularism. In our study 65.3 per cent of the public and 54.5 per cent of the private bureaucrats have particularistic orientation. There is significant relationship with the variable of type. The reason for higher particularism appears to be based on pragmatism. The extent of illegal gratification is higher in public bureaucracy compared

to private bureaucracy where it has been reported to be less
A bureaucrat remarked :

People in government offices generally know as to who in the office takes bribe, but they would not come as witness in case of inquiry. Even superiors keep quiet, as they are not sure about the action they take against defaulters. It is difficult to prove the charge due to procedural elaborateness and legal complexities.

In the case of private bureaucracy the cases of bribes are dealt with rather seriously and without complexities of formal and elaborate inquiries.

Level of Conscious Self

It is observed that 30.4 per cent of the bureaucrats have particularistic orientation at the level of conscious self, and 69.6 per cent of the bureaucrats have universalistic orientation. This is just in contrast to the responses given at the level of projected self. At conscious level the bureaucrats say that they would be rationally guided to tell the truth even against friends.

The relationship with different variables is not significant.

Level of Ethical Self

At ethical level also there is higher commitment to universalistic norm. We find that 16.0 per cent of the bureaucrats have particularistic orientation and 84.0 per cent have universalistic orientation. Further, we find that 10.3 per cent of the upper, 17.0 per cent of the middle and 20.0 per cent of the lower bureaucrats have particularistic orientation at the ethical level. There is thus significant relationship between hierarchy and orientation to values at ethical level. The lower bureaucrats have greater particularistic orientation at ethical level. It is interesting to note that at the level of projected self,

comparatively larger number of upper bureaucrats have particularistic orientation and lower bureaucrats universalistic. At the level of the ethical self, responses are reversed. Lower bureaucrats reveal comparatively higher particularistic orientation while upper bureaucrats universalistic at the level of ethical self.

Taking responses at all the levels together significant relationship is observed between level of consciousness and value-orientation. Particularism tends to be high at the level of projected self and low at the level of conscious and ethical self. Such a high universalistic orientation at the conscious level can be related to the phenomenon of desirable rather than one's actual behaviour. Actual behaviour can have greater association with the projected self.

Situation Three

A is on the selection board for a particular type of job. A's close relation is a candidate for it. There are other candidates also who are more qualified than A's relation but A knows that if he says a word in favour of his relation, the members of the Board will select him in preference to other candidates. What A will do, (b) What you would do, (c) What one should do ?

Level of Projected Self

At the level of projected self 77.7 per cent of the bureaucrats have particularistic orientation, while 22.3 per cent of the bureaucrats have universalistic orientation. In the context of Indian society the ties of family and kin-relationship are important. Kinship relations not in all cases are based on affectivity. The social pressure of obligation towards kin is high with the result that particularism based on kinship tends to be

**Table 8:6—Projective Analysis of Universalistic-Particularistic Values
(Situation Two)**

Level of consciousness	Nature of responses			Nature of significance in relation to variables		
	Particularistic	Universalistic	Total	Hierarchy	Specialization	Type
Projected self (what 'A' would do)	346 (60.2)	229 (39.8)	575 (100.0)	Not significant $\chi^2_1=2.90$ $P<0.30$	Not significant $\chi^2_1=0.06$ $P<0.80$	Significant $\chi^2_1=6.96$ $P<0.01$
Conscious self (what you would do)	175 (30.4)	400 (69.6)	575 (100.0)	Not significant $\chi^2_1=4.19$ $P<0.20$	Not significant $\chi^2_1=1.94$ $P<0.20$	Not significant $\chi^2_1=1.94$ $P<0.20$
Ethical self (what one should do)	92 (16.0)	483 (84.0)	575 (100.0)	Significant $\chi^2_1=6.77$ $P<0.05$	Not significant $\chi^2_1=1.29$ $P<0.30$	Not significant $\chi^2_1=0.46$ $P<0.50$
Total	613 (35.5)	1112 (64.5)	1725 (100.0)	χ^2 square of total : $\chi^2_2=313.25$ $P<.001$		

high. Such mutual obligation and favour have been traditionally part of expected and institutionalized norms. In a society which has a long historical continuity and which is undergoing the process of modernization, it does not happen that in the wake of the new institutional set-up old values shall be immediately dispensed with.

The traditional values continue to influence the modern institutional arrangement. Bureaucracy necessitates formulation of rational norms, having universalism as a basis for recruitment. Strongest pressures in India are based on the ties of kinship. There is no significant relationship on the basis of variables.

Level of Conscious Self

Of the bureaucrats studied 37.7 per cent have particularistic orientation at the conscious level and 62.3 per cent universalistic orientation. Universalistic orientation is high. There is significant relationship on the variables of hierarchy and type. We find that 32.6 per cent of the upper, 46.5 per cent of the middle and 38.5 per cent of the lower bureaucrats have particularistic orientation at the level of conscious-self.

Thus the middle category has comparatively higher particularistic orientation even at the conscious level. The values of middle class and its ethos (with which the middle hierarchy coincides) are different from the values of upper and lower classes. They have greater commitment to certain traditional values. There is a greater constraint on them for conformity. The ties of family are stronger in the middle class. The middle class is under greater social pressure to conform to reciprocal obligations based on kinship.

We find that 33.1 per cent of the non-technical bureaucrats and 42.0 per cent of the technical bureaucrats have particularistic orientation at the level of conscious-self. It is interesting to note that comparatively greater number of technical persons

Table 8 : 7—Projective Analysis of Universalistic-Particularistic Values
(Situation Three)

Level of self	Nature of responses			Nature of significance in relation to variables		
	Particu- larism	Universa- lism	Total	Hierarchy	Specialization	Type
Projected self (what A would do)	447 (77.7)	128 (22.3)	575 (100.0)	Not significant $\chi^2_1 = 0.10$ $P < 0.95$	Not significant $\chi^2_1 = 0.05$ $P < 0.90$	Not significant $\chi^2_1 = 0.05$ $P < 0.90$
Conscious self (what you would do)	217 (37.7)	358 (62.3)	575 (100.0)	Significant $\chi^2_1 = 7.62$ $P < 0.05$	Significant $\chi^2_1 = 4.84$ $P < 0.05$	Not significant $\chi^2_1 = 0.04$ $P < 0.90$
Ethical self (what one should do)	100 (17.4)	475 (82.6)	575 (100.0)	Not significant $\chi^2_1 = 2.96$ $P < 0.30$	Not significant $\chi^2_1 = 0.16$ $P < 0.70$	Significant $\chi^2_1 = 4.08$ $P < 0.05$
Total	764 (44.3)	961 (55.7)	1725 (100.0)	χ^2 square of total : $\chi^2_2 = 1111.77$ $P < .001$		

also have commitment to particularistic norms at the conscious level. A technical bureaucrat remarked :

Quite a few of the technical bureaucrats, who did not belong to well-to-do families, have got financial support from their kiths and kins. This has made them conscious of their debt to relations.

Level of Ethical Self

Of the bureaucrats studied 17.4 per cent have particularistic orientation while 82.6 per cent have universalistic orientation at the level of ethical self. There is high universalistic orientation at the level of ethical self.

By combining responses at all the three levels we find that 44.3 per cent of the bureaucrats have particularistic orientation, while 55.7 per cent of them universalistic orientation. There is significant difference between the level of consciousness and nature of value-orientation. There is very high particularism at the projected self and least at the level of ethical self. The total percentage of particularism is also high compared to the earlier two situations.

The tables reveal that, as we move from situation one to three, there is descending increase in particularistic orientation at all the levels of consciousness. On the level of projected self, except the situation one, the other two situations reveal high particularism. At the levels of conscious self and ethical self there is high universalistic orientation in all the three situations. It is significant to note that highest universalistic orientation has been revealed at the ethical self, followed by conscious self. High particularism has been revealed at the level of projected self in situation second and third.

There is significant difference on the basis of the three levels of consciousness and universalistic-particularistic orientation in all the three situations. The discrepancy among the three levels of projected, conscious and ethical self, has been found to be diverse on the same situational stimuli. In a bureaucratic set-up this diversity of reactions reveals that the

pattern of consistency which is necessary for a smooth and impartial functioning of bureaucracy is totally lacking.

Bureaucrats like many others in Indian society are under the double impact of traditional forces and modern pressures. There are three possible explanations for such a diverse orientation at the three levels of self :

- (a) persons tend to be ambivalent in their value-orientations due to twin pressures of traditionalism and modernity,
- (b) people show remarkable capacity to adjust to the selected sectors of both modernity and traditionalism and thus of universalism and particularism,
- (c) significant differences at the three levels of consciousness, in all the three situations, reveal sanctimoniousness in the behaviour characterized by high discrepancy between what people preach and what people practise.

Summary

Bureaucracy is oriented to accomplishment of certain tasks formulated and accepted by the government in power. These tasks are essentially of two types. The first task is related to maintenance of order in the country and coordination of various functions to maintain the ongoing process of society. The second function relates to activities designed for development in different areas of nation-building and welfare.

Bureaucracy accomplishes these tasks through a large number of functionaries placed at different hierarchy of administration. Weber has formulated certain ideal-typical characteristics based on rationality. The functionaries are required to adhere to these bureaucratic norms and work within such a framework. Bureaucrats, both as individual actors and a collectivity, are likely to have certain value-commitments which guide their action. Bureaucracy, being a rational-legal system, requires its functionaries to have commitment to values which should be in consonance with

roles to the fixing of general rules. There is now heavy governmental involvement in the phenomena of economic, social, and political change.³² There is, thus, great discrepancy between such political goals which need to be realized and actual commitment to them. In such a situation social change is likely to be thwarted since there is close relationship between commitment to value and action.

Bureaucratic neutrality is not to mean indifference or apathy to policy goals. Such a danger is greater in a bureaucracy which is steeped in colonial traditions of law and order and where it has been an apparatus of control rather than development. Some politicians and intellectuals therefore have been impatient with the rate of progress and find themselves at odds with the more conservative bureaucrats.³³ Bureaucratic neutrality has got to be a dynamic one, because any type of national development is unthinkable without bureaucracy.³⁴

Adherence to central tendencies of Weberian attributes has been considered to be necessary for bringing about the kind of economic, social and political change which one associates with modernity.³⁵

Informality in bureaucracy exists at the level of sub-systems and is not a phenomenon diffused and widespread as an ingredient of bureaucratic system. Informality has been found to be both functional as well as dysfunctional for bureaucracy. There is high non-rational perception regarding allocation of work and mode of selection. Upper bureaucrats have low perception of formal impersonal nature of administration. They also think that allocation of work is based on non-rational factors. Public bureaucrats in greater number think that allocation of work and selection are based on non-rational factors and not on competence. Such high non-rational perception signifies lack of confidence in the system in which

³²La Palombara, 'An Overview of Bureaucracy and Political Development', in La Palombara (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 4-5.

³³*Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.

³⁴Fritz Morstein Marx, 'The Higher Civil Service as an Action Group in Western Political Development', in La Palombara, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-95.

³⁵Joseph La Palombara, 'An Overview of Bureaucracy and Political Development', in La Palombara, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

bureaucrats are required to function. Such a perception by the upper bureaucrats further adversely affects the functioning of bureaucracy.

Transfer has been an essential feature of functioning of public bureaucracy in India. It is considered necessary for administrative efficiency. It checks the tendency of trained incapacity among bureaucrats and concentration of excessive power in their hands. However, a large number of bureaucrats think that transfers are motivated by factors other than administrative efficiency. Larger number of public bureaucrats have such a perception.

A large number of bureaucrats consider means of planning and development to be defective. Defective execution has been considered as the most important factor for the failure of plans. High negative perception by the bureaucrats may reflect the amount of frustration due to inadequate realization of goals. It may also lead to lack of confidence in planning measures and consequently lack of a sense of involvement.

The projective questions have been analysed with a view to examining the commitment of bureaucrats to the pattern-variables of universalism-particularism. This pattern-variable has been found to be logically most appropriate to the analysis of rational bureaucratic system. Bureaucrats have shown high universalistic orientation with regard to conscious and ethical self. At the level of projective self they reveal high particularism. There is significant inconsistency between the responses at the three levels of consciousness. This implies that there is a lack of a pattern of consistency, which is necessary for impartial functioning of bureaucracy. Such inconsistency may signify ambivalence of bureaucrats, or their capacity to adjust to the selected sectors of both modernity and traditionalism or their sanctimoniousness.

The social values of a majority of bureaucrats are near modernity, universalism and achievement orientation. The political values however reflect conservatism. The responses to the bureaucratic norms reveal greater non-rational perception in relation to one attribute and rational perception for the other. For two related aspects of bureaucratic functioning

the responses show high non-rational perception. The responses to the projective questions reveal high particularism at the level of projected self and high universalism at the level of ethical and conscious self.

Bureaucrats are part of the total social order and reflect its spirit and ethos. Bureaucrats also inherit the traditions of their services and thus form a sub-system having presumably a subculture. The inconsistency in responses and diverse value-orientation reveal the complexity of forces to which the bureaucrats are exposed. It appears that the values of bureaucrats are in dissonance with the goals of socialism, democracy, and rationalism. In fact there has not been a sharp break with the past despite political denunciations of the administrative system established under British rule.³⁷

It would be, therefore, right to conclude that there is dissonance between goals and rational means of bureaucracy, and value-orientation of bureaucrats which are ambivalent, complex, and contradictory. This reflects the ethos of the social system from which bureaucrats are recruited and also inbuilt resistance of bureaucratic system which, to a large extent, continues to be based on colonial imperial traditions. The bureaucratic system has not been abandoned in favour of another system.³⁸

All bureaucracies of the developing areas are likely to be dual in character, reflecting the transitory nature of society and their conflicting needs. In such a situation the 'primitive' is juxtaposed with the modern, the traditional with the legal-rational.³⁹

³⁷Ralph Braibanti, 'Concluding Observations', in Ralph Braibanti (ed.), *Asian Bureaucratic Systems Emergent from the British Imperial Tradition*, Durham: Duke University Press, 1966, pp. 674-675.

³⁸*Ibid.*, p. 675.

³⁹Joseph La Palombara, 'An Overview of Bureaucracy and Political Development', in La Palombara, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

The Outcome

Belief in the universality of sequences in the evolutionary stages of social growth as postulated by sociologists has now been replaced by the recognition that the historical background and the diversity of social structure set different paths of development even when the technological changes are identical.¹ This necessitates study of particular societies and specifically their dominant sub-system. It has been observed in the above context that the universality of science has not been achieved in any discipline without an empirical understanding of its particular manifestations.²

An empirical study of the functioning of sub-system of bureaucracy becomes both relevant and significant since it

¹Reinhard Bendix, *Nation-Building and Citizenship*, New York : John Wiley and Sons, 1964, p. 1.

²Ramkrishna Mukherjee, 'Study of Social Change and Social Development in the Developing Societies', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. V, July 1970, p. 1169.

occupies a crucial and central place among various sub-systems. Such a study of bureaucracy helps not only in understanding its nature of functioning but its role, commitment and orientation in relation to realization of the goals of nation-building.

Planned change conceived as a programme of development for the entire country is historically a unique event for India. The economic and political life of people was never sought to be changed by systematic and continuous programme implementation by the Government. The political unification of the large territory is a legacy of the British administration. Earlier the administration was feudal and patrimonial. Emergence of new goals related to economic and social development and equality and democracy is basically a post-independence feature.

The pattern of modern administration in India has been moulded and determined by the members of Indian Civil Service.³ The role of British administrators in providing a legal-formal base of administrators has been recognized. Many scholars and authorities on public administration have praised the higher civil service in India. Appleby considered the government in India as among the dozen or so most advanced governments of the world.⁴ Braibanti considers that administrative efficiency is due to the strong tradition of intellectuality, independent spirit, and pride found in the Indian Civil Service.⁵ Voluminous reports of commissions of inquiry, gazetteers, settlements reports and other works based on systematic facts have been produced by the members of the Indian Civil Service. Law and order was maintained with force and tact. Selection through rigorous competitive examination and high salary and prestige led to the creation of the elitist nature of the service. The ICS thus developed a caste-like system with position and power which probably no administrative service had ever enjoyed.

³Ralph Braibanti, 'Reflections on Bureaucratic Reform in India', in Ralph Braibanti and Joseph J. Spengler (eds.), *Administration and Economic Development in India*, Durham: Duke University Press, 1963, p. 1.

⁴Government of India, Cabinet Secretariat, Public Administration in India. *Report of a Survey*, by Paul H. Appleby, Delhi, 1953, p. 8.

⁵Braibanti, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

It has been observed that the ICS has influenced the traditions of Indian bureaucracy. In the wake of independence and government functioning on democratic principles committed to the goals of national development, the administrative structure developed and inherited from the colonial regime cannot only be unhelpful in the realization of certain goals but can adversely influence the pace and quality of social change.

After independence the service which worked for the British colonial interests was inherited and made responsible for carrying out governmental policies. It is interesting to note that though functions of bureaucracy necessitated new ethos, values, structure and method of work no efforts were made to transform the structure of bureaucratic organization.

It is in the above context that we are formulating certain major concluding statements emerging from the discussions of our study :

The present-day bureaucratic system weighs too heavily in favour of routine administrative tasks and is unsuitable for the achievement of goals of national development

One of the best-known generalizations of Weber holds that bureaucratic machine will ordinarily continue to operate essentially unchanged even in the face of revolutionary changes in the society.⁶ The role of bureaucracy in the maintenance of minimum of order and integration can hardly be disputed. But the role of bureaucracy does not remain ever the same.

The freedom fighters have been enlightened and educated persons committed to rational goals of modernity. After independence they took over the democratic government and were responsible to the people. Since they desired rapid progress

⁶Robert K. Merton et al., 'Bureaucracy: Theoretical Foundations', in R.K. Merton et al. (eds.), *Reader in Bureaucracy*, London: The Free Press, 1960, p. 18.

of the country plans and schemes were formulated for achieving the goals of development. Emphasis was laid on equality of opportunity, egalitarianism, and democratic way of life. Democracy was a system of governmental functioning which masses quite did not understand. The system was given to them as a whole and not in parts. The establishment of a democratic form of government does not automatically inculcate and diffuse democratic values amongst people. Democracy in effect meant voting rights and not structural situation of equality, liberty and freedom.

A number of causes led to the continuation of bureaucratic authoritarianism; the gap between authoritarian bureaucracy and the people, developed and sustained as a part of the British Imperial tradition and bolstered later; lack of enlightenment and understanding; and structural lag between continuance of old institutional pattern and new goals and aspirations. In fact only when an intensive programme of mass enlightenment precedes lofty goals of national development, effectiveness can be maximized.

In a traditional society which has historically rigid stratified social system, the bureaucratic organization tends to have greater caste-like structure

Higher bureaucracy has an exaggerated sense of status-consciousness in Indian society. The very suffixes ICS, IAS and such other rank symbols, suggest a desire to feel exclusive and remain aloof. The traditions of ICS have been inherited by IAS.

The sub-system of bureaucracy distributes privileges and benefits to its members in accordance with their official status. Distribution of official privileges in terms of type of room, furniture, house type, vehicle, telephone, peon, reflect the status of the official. Essentially meant for effective functioning the privileges become status-symbols.

At the level of social system, in traditional society, the official status tends to determine the social status. The upper bureaucrats choose their friends from similar rank, visit such persons who are similar in status, and participate in various activities selectively with equals. We have found in our study that the extent of paying social visits to superiors is lowest. Higher status makes them self-conscious and they interact with officials of similar rank. The participation in various activities is restricted with equals.

Right from the start, the process of socialization tends to instil exaggerated sense of status-consciousness amongst the trainees. During the training period the IAS trainees look down upon trainees of allied services. Later on direct recruits consider promotee IAS as of low breed. The form and mode of address, the pattern of interaction and distribution of power denote and demarcate status hierarchies.

The status-consciousness becomes part of the personality of bureaucrats which is reflected in their behaviour. The desire to remain aloof and exclusive in a democratic society reflects their high status-consciousness. This sense of high status extends beyond official milieu in various social situations and tends to be recognized by people. Behaviour of even the wives and children of high officials reflects the status of their husbands and fathers.

The bureaucratic system has concentration of authority and decision-making in the hands of the elite cadre—primarily oriented to order—and it tends to be power-oriented

For a ruling bureaucracy the possession of power is the highest goal.⁷ The power-orientation of Indian bureaucracy, and more specifically bureaucracy in Rajasthan, has historical

⁷E. Strauss, *The Ruling Servant*, London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1961, p. 90.

reasons. The feudal system of princes and the colonial rule of the British were based on authoritarianism. There was a great cultural, social, and psychological gap between the masses and the administrators. The British administrators were looked upon as 'Ma-Baap'. Concentration of power in the hands of rulers and administrators was legitimized. The administrators in the process of their malfunctioning do not evoke criticism proportionate to the criticism of the politicians who are charged for corruption and taunted for the ostentation in which they seemed to be competing with princes and feudals.

In a developing nation, with a history of colonialism and feudal order, bureaucrats continue to be power conscious. The power consciousness of bureaucrats is bolstered up with the enlargement of the activities of bureaucracy. The Government of India enters into almost every aspect of life of the ordinary citizen.⁸ Bureaucratization, whereby bureaucracy's spheres of activities and power are extended for its own interest or those of some of its elite, becomes a dominant process.⁹ Bureaucracy as an agency, potentially and actually, has high powers to make decisions vitally affecting people in the society. The routinization of administrative delay had made even having rightful matters expedited difficult.

While the bureaucracy sends notices for immediate action, threatening legal action in case of non-compliance, the citizens do not take reciprocal action over government failures. There is, thus, one way flow of responsibility. People are required to be responsible to the government but government is not responsible to the people. Relations with little or no reciprocity may occur when power disparities allow one party to coerce the other. The power of bureaucracy has increased and is likely to go on increasing.¹⁰ In the Indian context, Weiner

⁸Richard P. Taub, *Bureaucrats Under Stress*, Berkeley : University of California Press, 1969, p. 143.

⁹S.N. Eisenstadt, 'Bureaucracy, Bureaucratization, and Debureaucratization', in Amital Etzioni, *Complex Organization*, New York : Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961, p. 270.

¹⁰Strauss, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

observes, there are still complaints that services are authoritarian and conservative in their outlook and dampen the spirit of enthusiasm.¹¹

The prevailing bureaucratic system is rigidly stratified and favours the upper hierarchy in bureaucracy

The upper bureaucrats have revealed high satisfaction in relation to all the attributes of job like nature of work, salary, prestige, power and promotion chance. They thus enjoy high status, possess more authority, are paid high salary and enjoy many fringe benefits. The prevailing bureaucratic system puts greater strain on the middle and lower levels of bureaucrats. The sense of deprivation is highest amongst the lower ranks. They have shown high dissatisfaction with the salary they receive, power and prestige they possess and promotion chances they anticipate.

Entry into upper level of bureaucracy from the lower level is extremely difficult. Crossing the level of hierarchy through promotion has limited possibility as the number in promotion quota is very small. Recruitment to generalist public services, both at the all-India level and the state level, is based on competitive examination.

In a democratic society status-gap between different ranks of the sub-system of bureaucracy need to be minimal. High status-gap in the bureaucratic sub-system is not in consonance with the goals of democracy and egalitarianism. On the one hand it can lead to greater personal dissatisfaction and, on the other, it can affect the general morale of bureaucrats and consequently adversely affect their role performance.

¹¹Myron Weiner, 'The Politics of South Asia', in Gabriel A. Almond and James S. Coleman, *The Politics of the Developing Areas*, Princeton, New Jersey : Princeton University Press, 1960, p. 237.

Bureaucrats, after an initial resistance or even opposition, have now accepted the legitimacy of their being guided by the authority of political leadership

Administrators prior to independence had idealized the freedom fighters. After independence, when they saw them more closely, much of the halo for politicians gradually withered away. In developing nations which have got freedom from long and continuous colonial rule the political elites are at the helm of the affairs. Initially political interference was concerned with expediting schemes of welfare and development, and breaking the rigidity of administration. There was an initial enthusiasm for improving things and for implementing programmes of nation-building. Later on interference became more an aspect of power-politics. Politicians wanted the help of administrators to accede to the particularistic nature of articulation of citizens' interests. These interests were not of broader entity but were related to the advancement of parochial and narrow interests. Politicians essentially wanted to retain their power position through such patronages. While the higher bureaucrats keep aloof from the masses, elected politicians are easily accessible. Increasingly politicians have retained the power of decision-making with them. Riggs considers that in developing countries the extent of bureaucratic involvement in politics is very high.¹² Bureaucracy in India, however, is not involved in the political policies or the process of political development but to a certain extent in helping elected politicians to retain their power.

The process of adjustment between politicians and administrators does not reflect the realization of appreciative points of each other. Politicians have become adept in the intricacies of administration due to long and continuous experience in office. Bureaucrats have realized this and have accepted the

¹²Fred W. Riggs, 'Bureaucrats and Political Development : A Paradoxical View', in Joseph La Palombara (ed.), *Bureaucracy and Political Development*, Princeton, New Jersey : Princeton University Press, 1967, p. 121.

superior legal authority of ministers. They have adjusted with politicians with acceptance of their lower authority position due to pragmatic reasons of career benefit. There is heteromorphic reciprocity between the two.

That the adjustment is not natural and not based on the universalistic goals for collectivity is revealed by the fact that both political leaders and administrators have a very low image of each other.¹³ Ministers have superior power position compared to bureaucrats. They are not able to oppose the decisions of Ministers. The placement and position of bureaucrats rest with them. The career benefits are uppermost in the minds of bureaucrats and such considerations generally make them submit to the will of Ministers.

Bureaucrats consider political interference to be high. Such interference has been considered to have negative consequences. The upper and middle bureaucrats have high negative perception of political interference. They are under greater constraints to accept the interference of the politicians which operates maximally at these levels.

There is dissonance between the defined goals and rational means of bureaucracy and the value-orientations of bureaucrats. The response of bureaucrats to this situation tends to be ambivalent, complex and contradictory

The bureaucrats reveal ambivalence and contradiction in values which is the result of the twin pressures of traditionalism and modernity. Bureaucracy, being a rational-legal system, requires its functionaries to have commitment to values which should be in consonance with realization of its goals. The significance of the value-orientation of bureaucrats is directly related to the nature of their action which follows in bureaucratic working. Large number of bureaucrats

¹³See Shanti Kothari and Ramashray Roy, *Relation Between Politicians and Administrators at the District Level*, New Delhi: Indian Institute of Public Administration, 1969.

consider caste as a drag on the forces of development. Caste has penetrated new areas of activities. This is being reflected in the role of caste in rationally designed process of recruitment for jobs in bureaucracy, and voting behaviour. This suggests the great potentiality of a traditional system to influence the modern-rational spheres of activities and thus traditionalize modernity.

Nearly half of the bureaucrats consider marriage by free choice of boys and girls as desirable. A large number of bureaucrats consider democracy to be harmful in the present socio-economic situation of the country. Similarly a large number of bureaucrats consider emphasis on socialism and public sector as a cause for all economic troubles. Technical bureaucrats have revealed greater political conservatism.

Transfers in administration have been considered to be motivated by factors other than administrative efficiency. A large number of bureaucrats consider means of planning to be defective. Bureaucrats have shown high universalistic orientation with regard to conscious and ethical self. At the level of projective self they reveal high particularism. There is inconsistency between the responses at the three levels of consciousness.

Thus social values of a majority of bureaucrats are near modernity, universalism and achievement orientation. The political values however reflect conservatism. The responses to the bureaucratic norms reveal greater non-rational perception in regard to one attribute and rational perception for the other. For the two related aspects of bureaucratic functioning the responses show high non-rational perception.

This implies that there is a lack of a pattern of consistency, which is necessary for impartial functioning of bureaucracy. Such inconsistency may signify ambivalence of bureaucrats, or their capacity to adjust to the selected sectors of both modernity and traditionalism, or their sanctimoniousness.

It appears that there is a lack of compatibility between the goals of socialism, democracy and rationalism on the one hand

and the values of bureaucrats on the other. Their commitment to constitutional norms is essential. Realization of the welfare society based on justice, equality and democracy is possible only when bureaucrats have high commitment to the goals of constitution.

Informal relations have an important place in the structure of bureaucratic system and it is observed that their existence is functional for the bureaucratic system

Informal relations are inevitable in any formal organization. They can be both functional and dysfunctional to the functioning of bureaucracy. Since rigidity of bureaucracy can carry impersonality to the point of inhumanity, formation of informal relations provides a sense of security, personal gratification, and quicker accomplishment of tasks.

An administrative system which has been authoritarian and rigid, neutral, and impartial in its legal formulation, puts several strains on people both within and outside the bureaucracy, which are partly compensated by particularistic informality. One of the major functions of informal organization is to negate the effects of formal organization.¹⁴

Informal relationships have been found to operate both within the official situation and outside the official situation. Within office, informal relationships have been found to provide cathartic satisfaction to the bureaucrats, which has been revealed through nature of conversation they have. Informal relationships have been found to be helpful in the attainment of personal goals to be realized within a bureaucratic organization as well as in the attainment of non-personal official goals. A large number of bureaucrats have desired the personal-affective qualities amongst fellow-officials with whom they have to work. A large number of bureaucrats also

¹⁴Charles Hunt Page, 'Bureaucracy's Other Face', *Social Forces*, Vol. 14, 1946, p. 90.

believe that informal relationships improve efficiency. It is significant to note that a greater number of upper and middle bureaucrats believe so. Effectiveness of informality is more pronounced at these levels. Greater number of people visit government offices to expedite matters informally. Procedural complications and red-tapism are got rid of through informal channels.

The informal relationships are facilitated due to high particularism in Indian society. Identities are sought for, on the basis of kinship, caste, community, region, religion, and friendship. Reciprocal help is high between equals. The closest circle of friends of the bureaucrats come from the category of colleagues. They have highest extent of paying social visits amongst themselves.

Bureaucracy is a sub-system within a larger social system and is thus influenced by it. The societal approach of the study of bureaucracy is grounded in the twin observation that individuals do not enter organizations divested of life conditions and that organizations reflect the primary social forces embodied in the demands of communal life. The fact that informal relationship improves efficiency shows the operational limitation of the ideal-typical characteristic of formalistic impersonality of bureaucracy.

There seems to exist a gap between bureaucrats' quality of adjustment to their role and their perception of dysfunctions of bureaucracy

The bureaucrats have high perception of dysfunctions of bureaucracy. The dysfunctions of bureaucracy have been found to be of two types. The first type, which may be called over-organization, involves an excessive development of those bureaucratic routines which within limits are functionally necessary. The second type is under-organization. This includes those bureaucratic ills, as instanced by nepotism, favouritism, graft, corruption, and the like, which represent

failure to live up to the requirements of bureaucratic structure.¹⁵

The public bureaucrats consider police, public works department and taxation department to be highly corrupt. Inspectorial posts have been considered to be more corrupt in public bureaucracy. Structural factors related to economic deprivation, structural strains—societal structural strains—, administrative and moral weakness have been considered to be the main causes for corruption.

Use of official articles for personal purposes has also been perceived to be high in public bureaucracy. Personality factors related to lack of initiative and lack of competence, administrative factors related to lack of coordination, improper procedure and political interference have been considered important causes for inefficiency in administration. Groupism, favouritism and influence of non-rational factors in getting promotion, have been considered to be operating in the functioning of bureaucracy.

Despite high perception of dysfunctions of bureaucracy, the quality of adjustment of bureaucrats with their roles is comparatively more positively-oriented. A large number of bureaucrats have reported high satisfaction regarding their relationships with their fellow officials. Half of the bureaucrats feel high satisfaction with their jobs. The bureaucrats feel high satisfaction with nature of work, prestige and power which accrue from their jobs. Little less than half of the bureaucrats feel that fellow officials possess those qualities which they expect from them.

The dysfunctional perception of bureaucracy is high due to rise in rational expectations at the aspirational level and its lag at the level of actuality.

¹⁵Merton *et al.*, 'Social Pathologies of Bureaucracy', in Merton *et al.* (eds), *Reader in Bureaucracy*, *op. cit.*, p. 396.

believe that informal relationships improve efficiency. It is significant to note that a greater number of upper and middle bureaucrats believe so. Effectiveness of informality is more pronounced at these levels. Greater number of people visit government offices to expedite matters informally. Procedural complications and red-tapism are got rid of through informal channels.

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¹⁵Merton *et al.*, 'Social Pathologies of Bureaucracy', in Merton *et al.* (eds.), *Reader in Bureaucracy*, *op. cit.*, p. 396.

Contrary to the stereotype view colleague-level relationship in the bureaucratic organizations tends to be personal, spontaneous, and affective

The extent of participation in various social activities tends to be highest with the colleagues. The circle of closest friends belongs to colleague-level category. There is also high expectation of personal affective qualities from the colleagues. The frequency of paying social visits is highest amongst colleagues. The extent of making social calls to superiors is lowest. Lower bureaucrats comparatively pay more social visits to their subordinates as they feel lesser material and psychological difference with their subordinates. Upper category tends to be reserved and has greater social isolation. The participation in various activities like, inviting to a party, going to cinema, borrowing money, lending money and personal conveyance is highest amongst colleagues. This reveals the intrinsic satisfaction derived out of such activities. All categories of bureaucrats have closest circle of friends from amongst their colleagues.

High relationships with colleagues in all spheres of interaction and relationship reveal two things. First the bureaucratic system reflects the rigid stratified sub-system in India. Second, it proves that much of human behaviour is guided by considerations of exchange. Social exchange tends to be highest amongst equals. It involves favours that create diffuse future obligations which are not precisely specified and the nature of their return cannot be bargained.¹⁶

Relationship at the collegial level is symmetrical. Social cohesion depends on basic equality of status.¹⁷ Daily associations between like-minded colleagues, without serious conflicts, for long periods of time lead to emergence of social cohesion.¹⁸

¹⁶Peter Blau, *Exchange and Power in Social Life*, New York : John Wiley, 1964, p. 93.

¹⁷—, 'The Dynamics of Bureaucracy', in Amitai Etzioni, *Complex Organizations*, New York : Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961, p. 347.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 353.

Social background of the bureaucrats reveals that most of them come from homogeneous social sub-stratum. Their style of life and culture conforms to the culture existent among urban middle-class group and does not constitute a subculture of bureaucracy as such

Historically Indian society had social heterogeneity and cultural diversity. Administrators belonged to the upper strata of the society. Forces of modernization and greater equality of opportunity have widened the area of recruitment to a certain extent. The impact of modernization and availability of modern amenities have not been uniformly diffused in Indian society. Consequently two major cultural categories—urban and rural—emerged and persist. Urban culture is characterized by higher amenities of modern living, greater educational opportunities, and higher level of aspirations for the achievement of success-goals. Generally bureaucrats are recruited from such a background. Premium on high formal education and along with it a lack of opportunity for high education for a large number of people in the country tend to confine recruitment to bureaucracy from a particular category.

Our study reveals that a large number of bureaucrats have urban background. Their fathers' occupational background is largely administrative. A university degree has become necessary for entry in jobs, and it is absolutely essential for those who intend to enter higher jobs. Most of the bureaucrats are familiar with three languages. They belong to different States of India.

Though more than half of the bureaucrats were born in joint family, less than half of them are living presently in joint family. Higher bureaucratic status and living in single family go together. It is interesting to note that public schooling does not help in recruitment to higher civil service.

Though there has been greater recruitment from middle and lower middle strata of society, this has not helped in de-aristocratization of higher bureaucracy. These officials, due to

pressures of the new values of aristocracy and continuity of feudal values, try to de-identify themselves with the group of their origin. The former traditions of higher civil service have influenced the present bureaucratic system. Earlier bureaucrats had led an exclusive life which was reflected in their behaviour, culture, and style of life.

The style of life and material possessions of bureaucrats have become a replica of middle class urban culture due, to standardization of articles produced on a large scale, in the wake of industrialization. Urban-educated middle class has developed its own culture, irrespective of different occupations of its members. Social mobility from middle class to upper middle class has been more pronounced.

However, the culture of bureaucrats in India does not reflect mass-culture. The subculture of bureaucrats has been submerged in the new urban culture. The gap between masses and bureaucrats continues to persist.

There is higher degree of universalism in recruitment to public bureaucracy. Despite this the dysfunctional attributes of the system are higher in public bureaucracy compared to private bureaucracy

A large number of bureaucrats perceive high efficiency in private bureaucracy, though recruitment in private bureaucracy is more particularistic. This can be explained on two grounds. First, particularistic recruitment in private bureaucracy is based on pragmatic norms of reciprocal advantage and is not an end in itself. Recommendations are accepted when potentially larger benefits can accrue to the industry in bargain. Thus rational pragmatism motivates private bureaucracy. Once a person is recruited in private bureaucracy its organizational milieu makes the person conform to work schedule. Goode has argued that organizations of modern industrial societies are efficient not because they hire the most able, but because they make the

inept more efficient.¹⁹ Second, anxiety and insecurity are effective motivators for bureaucrats to accomplish their tasks more efficiently. Public bureaucrats have revealed greater sense of job-security. The private bureaucrats have comparatively higher perception of positive characteristics amongst their fellow-officials. They feel more satisfied with their nature of work and promotion chances in job. The private bureaucrats have very low perception of dysfunctions in their organizations. There was conformity between the targets of production and actual production in private bureaucracy.

*Technical bureaucrats have greater deprivation in administration than non-technical ones.
This may be due to their negative perception of the role of other bureaucrats because of their being judged as powerful elite generalists*

The technical bureaucrats have been numerically growing in recent past due to the industrial growth and various programmes of development. The technical people have specialized training which is both costly and more rigorous. Bright students have been opting for technical jobs and admissions in technical colleges have been generally restricted to students securing high percentage of marks.²⁰

Technical bureaucrats belong to younger age-group. They have higher urban background and their parents have comparatively higher educational attainments. Such a background tends to inculcate high aspirations in them. However, in actuality non-technical bureaucrats enjoy greater powers and privileges. Technical bureaucrats have low job-satisfaction. They feel particularly deprived in relation to power they possess and prestige they enjoy. There is thus greater social and ego dissonance amongst the technical bureaucrats.

¹⁹W.J. Goode, 'The Protection of the Inept', *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 32, 1967, pp. 5-19.

²⁰Recently there has been great slump for jobs for engineers. It has consequently affected the competition for rush in engineering colleges.

Technical bureaucrats perceive greater negative characteristics in their fellow officials. Comparatively greater number of the technical bureaucrats consider that there are improper procedures and lack of coordination in the functioning of bureaucracy. They also perceive higher incidence of groupism, communalism and bad human relations in bureaucratic functioning.

Authority in certain spheres should rest on the certified professional competence of the expert. However bureaucratic authority is vested in an official position which obliges subordinates to follow directives under the threat of sanctions.²¹ To emphasize the main issue we can say that though some authors have emphasized that tradition and modernity are not systems in conflict but are mutually reinforcing,²² and have maintained that such broad structural features of modernizing society can readily be accommodated in traditional societies, this is only partially true as this study reveals.

Traditional societies cannot accommodate social structures, institutional set-ups and cultural values of western societies in their totality. Firstly, an alien institution need not be functionally adequate in an indigenous culture. It does not mean that such institution shall be thrown away or that indigenous ethos shall be hostile to it. It has to be made clear that indigenous social system necessitates modification of the alien pattern to suit its own genius.

Secondly, it also implies that a system which is adequate at one point of history for certain goal-fulfilment becomes totally inadaptive at a different point when new goals emerge and are emphasized. Continuation of the old structure leads to structural lag wherein the structure of a sub-system lags behind, while new goals and new aspirations multiply. Such structural lag can be considered as dysfunctional to the goals of development and nation-building.

²¹Peter M. Blau, 'The Hierarchy of Authority in Organizations', *American Journal of Sociology*, No. 4, January, 1968, p. 455.

²²See Joseph R. Gusfield, 'Traditions and Modernity: Misplaced Polarities in the Study of Social Change', *American Journal of Sociology*, 72, 1967, pp. 351-62, and Lloyd Rudolph and Susan Rudolph, *The Modernity of Tradition*, New Delhi: Orient Longmans Ltd., 1969, pp. 3-14.

Appendix A

Table III : I—Father's Occupation

Variables	Hierarchy			Specialization		Type		Total of each variable
	Upper	Middle	Lower	Non-technical	Technical	Public	Private	
Occupation								
Administrative	89 (50.8)	105 (52.6)	90 (45.0)	137 (49.8)	147 (49.0)	164 (54.7)	120 (43.6)	284 (49.4)
Agricultural	11 (6.3)	14 (7.0)	23 (11.5)	23 (8.4)	25 (8.3)	25 (8.3)	23 (8.4)	48 (8.3)
Professional	16 (9.1)	22 (11.0)	15 (7.5)	22 (8.0)	31 (10.3)	27 (9.0)	26 (9.4)	53 (9.2)
Business	34 (19.4)	36 (18.0)	36 (18.0)	54 (19.6)	52 (17.3)	47 (15.7)	59 (21.4)	106 (18.4)
Teaching	15 (8.6)	11 (5.5)	11 (5.5)	15 (5.4)	22 (7.3)	22 (7.3)	15 (5.4)	37 (6.4)
Others	10 (5.7)	12 (6.0)	25 (12.5)	24 (8.7)	23 (7.7)	15 (5.0)	32 (11.6)	47 (8.1)
Total	175 (99.9)	200 (100.0)	200 (100.0)	275 (99.9)	300 (99.9)	300 (100.0)	275 (99.8)	575 (99.8)

Table III : II—Educational Qualifications of the Bureaucrats

Educational Level	Specialization			Type		Total of each variable
	Non-technical	Technical	Public	Private		
Upto Middle	1 (0.4)	2 (0.7)	1 (0.3)	2 (0.7)	3 (0.5)	
Secondary	29 (10.5)	15 (5.0)	18 (6.0)	26 (9.4)	44 (7.7)	
Under-graduate	20 (7.3)	63 (21.0)	23 (7.7)	60 (21.8)	83 (14.4)	
Graduate	109 (39.6)	151 (50.3)	139 (46.3)	121 (44.0)	260 (45.2)	
Post-graduate	56 (20.4)	68 (22.7)	90 (30.0)	34 (12.4)	124 (21.6)	
No response	60 (21.8)	1 (0.3)	29 (9.7)	32 (11.6)	61 (10.6)	
Total	275 (100.0)	300 (100.0)	300 (100.0)	275 (99.9)	575 (100.0)	

Note : Figures of the variable of hierarchy have been given in the text of the thesis.

Table III ; IV—Language used at Home

Variables	Hierarchy			Specialization		Type		Total for each variable
	Upper	Middle	Lower	Non-technical	Technical	Public	Private	
Languages								
Hindi	94 (53.7)	106 (53.0)	105 (52.5)	147 (53.4)	158 (52.7)	173 (57.7)	132 (48.0)	305 (53.0)
English	4 (2.3)	7 (3.5)	5 (2.5)	7 (2.5)	9 (3.0)	9 (3.0)	7 (2.5)	16 (1.8)
Regional	50 (28.6)	59 (29.5)	68 (34.0)	83 (30.2)	94 (31.3)	86 (28.7)	91 (33.1)	177 (30.8)
More than one language	27 (15.4)	28 (14.0)	22 (11.0)	38 (13.8)	39 (13.0)	32 (10.6)	45 (16.4)	77 (13.4)
Total	175 (100.0)	200 (100.0)	200 (100.0)	275 (100.0)	300 (100.0)	300 (100.0)	275 (100.0)	575 (100.0)

Table IV : I—Frequency of Social Visit

Variables Category of officials	Hierarchy			Specialization		Type		Total for each variable
	Upper N=175	Middle N=200	Lower N=200	Non- technical N=275	Technical N=300	Public N=300	Private N=275	
<i>Superiors</i>								
Frequently	14 (8.0)	27 (13.5)	30 (15.0)	39 (14.2)	32 (10.7)	31 (10.3)	40 (14.5)	71 (12.3)
Less frequently	151 (86.3)	142 (71.0)	116 (58.0)	177 (64.4)	232 (77.3)	218 (72.7)	191 (69.4)	409 (71.1)
Never	10 (5.7)	31 (15.5)	54 (27.0)	59 (21.4)	36 (12.0)	51 (17.0)	44 (16.0)	95 (16.5)
	$\chi^2_4 = 40.50$ P < 0.001			$\chi^2_4 = 12.60$ P < 0.01		$\chi^2_4 = 2.31$ P < 0.50		
<i>Colleagues</i>								
Frequently	98 (56.0)	126 (63.0)	136 (68.0)	151 (54.9)	209 (69.7)	186 (62.0)	174 (63.3)	360 (62.6)
Less frequently	74 (42.3)	71 (35.5)	59 (29.5)	115 (41.8)	89 (29.7)	112 (37.3)	92 (33.4)	204 (35.5)
Never	3 (1.7)	3 (1.5)	5 (2.5)	9 (3.3)	2 (0.7)	2 (0.7)	9 (3.3)	11 (1.9)
	$\chi^2_4 = 7.93$ P < 0.10			$\chi^2_4 = 16.21$ P < 0.01		$\chi^2_4 = 5.91$ P < 0.10		
<i>Subordinates</i>								
Frequently	23 (13.1)	33 (16.5)	57 (28.5)	54 (19.6)	59 (19.6)	49 (16.3)	64 (23.3)	113 (19.7)
Less frequently	122 (69.7)	134 (67.0)	115 (57.5)	171 (62.2)	200 (66.7)	198 (66.0)	173 (62.9)	371 (64.5)
Never	30 (17.1)	33 (16.5)	28 (14.0)	50 (18.2)	41 (13.7)	53 (17.7)	38 (13.8)	91 (15.8)
	$\chi^2_4 = 17.73$ P < 0.01			$\chi^2_4 = 2.24$ P < 0.50		$\chi^2_4 = 6.11$ P < 0.05		

Table V : I—Qualities Expected in Superiors, Colleagues, Subordinates

Variables	Hierarchy			Specialization		Type		Total for each variable N=1725
	Upper N=525	Middle N=600	Lower N=600	Non-technical N=825	Technical N=900	Public N=900	Private N=825	
Superiors								
Personal affective	152 (29.0)	218 (36.3)	232 (38.7)	311 (37.7)	291 (32.3)	297 (33.0)	305 (37.0)	602 (34.9)
Rational	206 (39.2)	243 (40.5)	213 (35.5)	318 (38.5)	344 (38.2)	348 (38.7)	314 (38.1)	662 (38.4)
Personal non-affective	167 (31.8)	139 (23.2)	155 (25.8)	196 (23.8)	265 (29.4)	255 (28.3)	206 (25.0)	461 (26.7)
Colleagues								
Personal affective	240 (45.7)	297 (49.5)	325 (54.2)	411 (49.8)	451 (50.1)	421 (46.8)	441 (53.4)	862 (50.0)
Rational	157 (29.9)	174 (29.0)	168 (28.0)	256 (31.0)	243 (27.0)	278 (30.9)	221 (26.8)	499 (28.9)
Personal non-affective	128 (24.4)	129 (21.5)	107 (17.8)	158 (19.2)	206 (22.9)	201 (22.3)	163 (19.8)	364 (21.1)
Subordinates								
Personal affective	141 (26.9)	202 (33.7)	235 (39.2)	286 (34.7)	292 (32.4)	277 (30.8)	301 (36.5)	578 (33.5)
Rational	273 (52.0)	268 (44.7)	279 (46.5)	394 (47.8)	426 (47.3)	456 (50.7)	364 (44.1)	820 (47.5)
Personal non-affective	111 (21.1)	130 (21.7)	86 (14.3)	145 (17.6)	182 (20.2)	167 (18.6)	160 (19.4)	327 (19.0)

Note : Each respondent was asked to mention three qualities for superiors, three for colleagues and three for subordinates separately.

Table V : II—Satisfaction of Relationship

<i>Variables</i>	<i>High</i>	<i>Low</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Hierarchy</i>			
Upper	130 (74.3)	45 (25.7)	175 (100.0)
Middle	117 (58.5)	83 (41.5)	200 (100.0)
Lower	93 (46.5)	107 (53.5)	200 (100.0)
	$\chi^2_1 = 29.86$ $P < 0.001$		
<i>Specialization</i>			
Non-technical	170 (61.8)	105 (38.2)	275 (100.0)
Technical	170 (56.7)	130 (43.3)	300 (100.0)
	$\chi^2_1 = 1.57$ $P < 0.30$		
<i>Type</i>			
Public	189 (63.0)	111 (37.0)	300 (100.0)
Private	151 (54.9)	124 (45.1)	275 (100.0)
	$\chi^2_1 = 3.89$ $P < 0.05$		
Total for each of the above variables	340 (59.1)	235 (40.9)	575 (100.0)
Reproducibility of the Scale .9			

Table V : III—Extent of the Conformity of Qualities

<i>Variables</i>	<i>High</i>	<i>Low</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Hierarchy</i>			
Upper	72 (41.1)	103 (58.9)	175 (100.0)
Middle	87 (43.5)	113 (56.5)	200 (100.0)
Lower	76 (38.0)	124 (62.0)	200 (100.0)
	$\chi^2_1 = 1.26$ $P < 0.70$		
<i>Specialization</i>			
Non-technical	116 (42.2)	159 (57.8)	275 (100.0)
Technical	119 (39.7)	181 (60.3)	300 (100.0)
	$\chi^2_1 = 0.37$ $P < 0.70$		
<i>Type</i>			
Public	127 (42.3)	173 (57.7)	300 (100.0)
Private	108 (39.3)	167 (60.7)	275 (100.0)
	$\chi^2_1 = 0.55$ $P < 0.50$		
Total for each of the above variables	235 (40.9)	340 (59.1)	575 (100.0)
Reproducibility of the Scale .83			

Table V : IV—Reasons Given for Satisfaction and Dissatisfaction with Nature of Work

Variables	Hierarchy				Non-technical	Technical	Public	Private
	Upper	Middle	Lower					
<i>Nature of Work</i>								
<i>Satisfaction</i> (Each out of :)	<i>N=129</i>	<i>N=130</i>	<i>N=121</i>	<i>N=181</i>	<i>N=193</i>	<i>N=187</i>	<i>N=193</i>	<i>N=380</i>
Value commitment	61 (47.3)	56 (43.1)	34 (28.1)	89 (47.6)	62 (32.1)	85 (45.5)	66 (34.2)	151 (39.7)
Instrumental commitment	86 (66.7)	70 (53.8)	49 (40.5)	73 (39.0)	132 (68.4)	96 (51.3)	109 (56.5)	205 (59.7)
High indifference	4 (3.1)	12 (9.2)	49 (40.5)	45 (24.1)	20 (10.4)	39 (20.8)	26 (13.5)	65 (17.1)
Negative commitment	3 (2.3)	10 (7.7)	30 (24.8)	26 (13.9)	17 (8.8)	25 (13.4)	18 (9.3)	43 (11.3)
No response	16 (12.4)	22 (16.9)	18 (14.9)	28 (15.0)	23 (14.5)	29 (15.5)	27 (14.0)	56 (14.7)
<i>Dissatisfaction</i> (Each out of :)	<i>N=46</i>	<i>N=70</i>	<i>N=79</i>	<i>N=88</i>	<i>N=107</i>	<i>N=113</i>	<i>N=62</i>	<i>N=195</i>
Wrong placement	16 (34.8)	31 (44.3)	12 (15.2)	24 (27.3)	35 (32.7)	34 (30.1)	25 (30.5)	59 (30.2)
Structural dissatisfaction	27 (58.7)	36 (51.4)	50 (63.3)	49 (55.7)	64 (59.8)	70 (61.9)	43 (52.4)	113 (57.9)
Affective rejection	7 (15.2)	17 (24.3)	38 (48.1)	31 (35.2)	31 (29.0)	34 (30.1)	28 (34.1)	62 (31.8)
No response	14 (30.4)	22 (31.4)	21 (26.6)	25 (28.4)	32 (29.9)	30 (26.5)	27 (32.9)	57 (29.2)

Note : Respondents have given more than one reason for each cell represents figure out of its total n.

Table V : V—Reasons Given for Satisfaction and Dissatisfaction with Salary

Variables	Hierarchy			Specialization		Type		Total for each variable
	Upper	Middle	Lower	Non-technical	Technical	Public	Private	
Salary								
Satisfaction (Each out of :)	N=105	N=68	N=49	N=109	N=113	N=118	N=104	N=222
Low	—	15 (22.1)	30 (61.2)	21 (19.3)	24 (21.2)	27 (22.9)	18 (17.3)	45 (20.3)
aspirations	82 (78.1)	39 (57.3)	9 (18.4)	59 (54.1)	71 (62.8)	56 (47.4)	74 (71.1)	130 (58.6)
No economic strain	4	22	7	22	11	19	14	33
Less social obligation	(3.8)	(32.3)	(14.3)	(20.2)	(9.7)	(16.1)	(13.5)	(14.9)
Administratively better placed	80 (76.2)	6 (8.8)	—	35 (32.1)	51 (45.1)	41 (34.7)	45 (43.3)	86 (38.7)
No response	13 (12.4)	18 (26.5)	16 (32.6)	23 (21.1)	24 (21.2)	27 (22.9)	20 (19.2)	47 (21.2)
Dissatisfaction (Each out of :)	N=70	N=132	N=151	N=166	N=187	N=182	N=171	N=353
High aspirations	28 (40.0)	75 (56.8)	72 (47.7)	70 (42.2)	105 (56.1)	99 (54.4)	76 (44.4)	175 (49.6)
Economic strains	32 (45.7)	49 (37.1)	59 (39.1)	71 (42.8)	89 (36.9)	73 (40.1)	67 (39.2)	140 (39.7)
Strains of social obligation	17 (24.3)	32 (24.2)	43 (28.5)	44 (26.5)	48 (25.7)	51 (28.0)	41 (24.0)	92 (26.1)
Administrative limitations	21 (30.0)	35 (26.5)	29 (19.2)	34 (20.5)	51 (27.3)	54 (29.7)	31 (18.1)	85 (24.1)
No response	17 (24.3)	23 (17.4)	23 (15.2)	27 (16.3)	36 (19.2)	32 (17.6)	31 (18.1)	63 (17.8)

Note : Respondents have given more than one reasons for satisfaction and dissatisfaction hence each cell represents figure out of its total n.

Table V: VI—Reasons Given for Satisfaction and Dissatisfaction with Promotion Chances

Variables	Hierarchy			Specialization		Type		Total for each variable
	Upper	Middle	Lower	Non-technical	Technical	Public	Private	
<i>Promotion chances</i>								
<i>Satisfaction (Each out of :)</i>	<i>N=104</i>	<i>N=61</i>	<i>N=49</i>	<i>N=106</i>	<i>N=108</i>	<i>N=94</i>	<i>N=120</i>	<i>N=214</i>
Procedural factors	42 (40.4)	23 (37.7)	15 (30.6)	45 (42.4)	35 (32.4)	50 (53.2)	30 (25.0)	80 (37.4)
Performance factors	46 (44.2)	29 (47.5)	21 (42.9)	41 (38.7)	55 (50.9)	13 (13.8)	83 (69.2)	96 (44.9)
Psychological factors	35 (33.6)	26 (42.6)	29 (59.2)	46 (43.4)	44 (40.7)	43 (45.7)	47 (39.2)	90 (42.1)
No response	19 (18.3)	15 (24.6)	10 (20.4)	23 (21.7)	21 (19.4)	18 (19.1)	26 (21.7)	44 (20.6)
<i>Dissatisfaction (Each out of :)</i>	<i>N=71</i>	<i>N=139</i>	<i>N=151</i>	<i>N=169</i>	<i>N=192</i>	<i>N=206</i>	<i>N=155</i>	<i>N=361</i>
Procedural factors	33 (46.5)	75 (54.0)	84 (55.6)	93 (55.0)	99 (51.6)	153 (74.3)	39 (25.2)	192 (53.2)
Particularistic factors	32 (45.1)	63 (45.3)	72 (47.7)	76 (45.0)	91 (47.4)	60 (29.1)	107 (69.0)	167 (46.3)
Psychological factors	12 (16.9)	20 (14.4)	28 (18.5)	28 (16.6)	32 (16.7)	24 (11.6)	38 (23.2)	60 (16.6)
No response	21 (29.6)	25 (18.0)	25 (16.6)	30 (17.7)	41 (21.3)	41 (19.9)	30 (19.4)	71 (19.7)

Note: Respondents have given more than one reason for satisfaction and dissatisfaction hence each cell represents figure out of its total n.

Table V : VII—Reasons Given for Satisfaction and Dissatisfaction with Prestige

Variables	Hierarchy			Specialization		Type	Total for each variable
	Upper	Middle	Lower	Non-technical	Technical		
Prestige Satisfaction (Each out of :)	N=144	N=126	N=121	N=210	N=181	N=181	N=391
Job-oriented factors	99 (68.7)	72 (57.1)	53 (43.8)	114 (54.3)	110 (60.8)	117 (64.6)	224 (57.3)
Personality-oriented factors	32 (22.2)	49 (38.9)	60 (49.6)	72 (34.3)	69 (38.1)	56 (30.9)	141 (36.1)
No response	35 (24.3)	33 (26.2)	33 (27.3)	51 (24.3)	50 (27.6)	41 (22.6)	101 (25.8)
Dissatisfaction (Each out of :)	N=31	N=74	N=79	N=65	N=119	N=94	N=184
Job-oriented factors	15 (48.4)	41 (55.4)	33 (41.8)	32 (49.2)	57 (47.9)	39 (41.5)	89 (48.4)
Personality-oriented factors	11 (35.5)	26 (35.1)	40 (50.6)	22 (33.8)	55 (46.2)	45 (47.9)	77 (41.8)
No response	14 (45.2)	18 (24.3)	21 (26.6)	22 (33.8)	31 (26.0)	28 (29.8)	53 (28.8)

Note : Respondents have given more than one reasons for satisfaction and dissatisfaction, hence each cell represents figure out of its total n.

Table V : VIII—Reasons Given for Satisfaction and Dissatisfaction with Power

Variables	Hierarchy			Specialization		Type		Total for each variable
	Upper	Middle	Lower	Non-technical	Technical	Public	Private	
Power								
<i>Satisfaction</i> (Each out of :)	N=130	N=107	N=81	N=153	N=155	N=169	N=149	N=318
Executive efficiency	84 (64.6)	68 (61.7)	45 (55.6)	97 (59.5)	98 (63.2)	88 (52.1)	107 (71.8)	195 (61.3)
Authority satisfaction	35 (26.9)	30 (28.0)	33 (40.7)	52 (31.9)	46 (29.7)	59 (34.9)	39 (26.2)	98 (30.8)
High social status	39 (30.0)	29 (27.1)	10 (12.3)	38 (23.3)	40 (25.8)	47 (27.8)	31 (20.8)	78 (24.5)
No response	31 (23.8)	31 (29.0)	27 (33.3)	46 (28.2)	43 (27.7)	54 (32.0)	35 (23.5)	89 (28.0)
Dissatisfaction (Each out of :)	N=45	N=93	N=119	N=112	N=145	N=131	N=126	N=257
Executive inefficiency	31 (68.9)	60 (64.5)	38 (31.9)	59 (52.7)	70 (48.3)	68 (51.9)	61 (48.4)	129 (50.2)
Authority dissatisfaction	18 (40.0)	36 (38.7)	67 (56.3)	54 (48.2)	67 (46.2)	59 (45.0)	52 (49.2)	121 (47.1)
Status incompatibility	12 (26.7)	40 (43.0)	68 (57.1)	53 (47.3)	67 (46.2)	52 (39.7)	68 (54.0)	120 (46.7)
No response	12 (26.7)	23 (24.7)	31 (26.0)	26 (23.2)	40 (27.6)	35 (26.7)	31 (24.6)	67 (26.1)

Note : Respondents have given more than one reasons for satisfaction and dissatisfaction, hence each cell represents figure out of its total n.

Appendix B

QUESTIONNAIRE

THE STRUCTURE AND FUNCTION OF ADMINISTRATION

A Sociological Study

(The information sought is purely and exclusively for research purposes and it will be kept strictly confidential. Please tick mark () your answers wherever it is required.)

SECTION I

- A-1 Age :
- A-2 Place of birth : Please tick mark () Village, Town, City.
- A-3 State :
- A-4 Nature of Schooling : Please tick mark ()
 - (a) Public (English) School ()
 - (b) Government (Vernacular) School ()
- A-5 Educational qualifications :
- A-6 Type of family : Please tick mark ()
 - (a) You were born in : Joint/Single family
 - (b) Your present family type : Joint/Single family
- A-7 Marital status : Please tick mark () Engaged/Married/Unmarried/Widower
- A-8 Number of children :
- A-9 Caste :
- A-10 Religion :
- A-11 Department :
- A-12 Designation :
- A-13 Nature of present employment : Temporary/Permanent
- A-14 Total years of service :
- A-15(a) Salary and grade :
- A-15(b) Special pay/Allowance :
- A-15(c) Total monthly income :

- A-16 Have you been employed in the Government service prior to integration of the States? / In how many firms you have worked before joining the present one?
- A-17 How did you get the present job? Please tick mark ()
- (a) Through competitive examination ()
- (b) Formal interview without examination ()
- (c) On being introduced by somebody ()
- (d) Any other : Please specify
- A-18 Father's occupation :
- A-19 Father's education :

SECTION II

- B-1(a) To what degree are you satisfied with the income/salary that you receive from your present position?
Highly satisfied/Satisfied/Less satisfied/Least satisfied.
- B-1(b) Why do you say so? Could you please explain?
- B-2(a) To what degree are you satisfied with the power you possess from your present position?
Highly satisfied/Satisfied/Less satisfied/Least satisfied.
- B-2(b) Why do you say so? Could you please explain?
- B-3(a) To what degree are you satisfied with the prestige that you receive from your present position?
Highly satisfied/Satisfied/Less satisfied/Least satisfied.
- B-3(b) Why do you say so? Could you please explain?
- B-4(a) To what degree are you satisfied with the promotion chances in the present position?
Highly satisfied/Satisfied/Less satisfied/Least satisfied.
- B-4(b) Why do you say so? Could you please explain?
- B-5(a) To what degree are you satisfied with the nature of work in your present position?
Highly satisfied/Satisfied/Less satisfied/Least satisfied.

- B-5(b) Why do you say so ? Could you please explain ?
- B-6 What is your evaluation of the work-load that your superior officers have to perform ?
Too much work/Much work/Fair work/Less work/Too little work.
- B-7 What is your evaluation of the work-load that your subordinates have to perform ?
Too much work/Much work/Fair work/Less work/Too little work.
- B-8 What is your evaluation of the work-load that you have to perform ?
Too much work/Much work/Fair work/Less work/Too little work.
- B-9 How often do you have to carry pending files home for completing them ?
Daily/Alternate days/Week-ends/Alternate weeks/Once in a month/Seldom/Never.
- B-10 How many times in a day you have to interact face to face with the people of following ranks ?
- | | Rank | Number of times |
|--|-----------------|-----------------|
| | (1) Same Rank | |
| | (2) Lower Rank | |
| | (3) Higher Rank | |
- B-11 How often do people get-together informally during office hours ?
Very frequently/Frequently/Less frequently/Least frequently.
- B-12 How often Government servants/employees in private firms on tour arrange to stay with their friends ?
Very frequently/Frequently/Less frequently/Least frequently.
- B-13 How often Government servants/employees in private firms on tour arrange to stay in Govt. Rest Houses, Dak Bungalows etc. ?
Very frequently/Frequently/Less frequently/Least frequently.

B-14 How often Government servants/employees in private firms on tour arrange to stay at public places like Dharmshalas etc. ?

Very frequently/Frequently/Less frequently/Least frequently.

B-15 How often Government servants/employees in private firms on tour arrange to stay with their departmental officials ?

Very frequently/Frequently/Less frequently/Least frequently.

B-16 Which of the following factors influence the choice of arranging to stay with particular person/places while on tour ? Please give priority number 1, 2, 3.

Priority number

(a) It offers better facilities ()

(b) To maintain social contacts ()

(c) It saves money ()

(d) Any other : Please specify ()

B-17 How frequently do you consider the following factors to be responsible for inefficiency in administration ? Please tick mark ()

	Very frequently	Frequently	Less frequently	Least frequently
--	-----------------	------------	-----------------	------------------

(a) Lack of initiative

(b) Lack of competence

(c) Improper procedure

(d) Bad human relations

(e) Too much work

(f) Lack of
co-ordination

(g) Outside
political
interference

(h) Groupism

(i) Communalism

B-18 How often do you think people are assigned work of administrative responsibility for which they are best suited ?
Very frequently/Frequently/Less frequently/Least frequently.

B-19(a) What qualities do you expect in your superior officers ?
Please mention three qualities.
(1) (2) (3)

B-19(b) To what extent the qualities as they are present in your superior officers deviate from the expected qualities ?
Very much/Much/Little/Very little.

B-20(a) What qualities do you expect in your colleagues ?
Please mention three qualities.
(1) (2) (3)

B-20(b) To what extent the qualities as they are present in your colleagues deviate from the expected qualities ?
Very much/Much/Little/Very little.

B-21(a) What qualities do you expect in your subordinates ?
Please mention three qualities.
(1) (2) (3)

B-21(b) To what extent the qualities as they are present in your subordinates deviate from the expected qualities ?
Very much/Much/Little/Very little.

B-22(a) How much are you satisfied the way you are going along with your superiors ?
Very much/Much/Little/Very little.

- B-22(b) Why do you say so ? Could you please explain ?
- B-23(a) How much are you satisfied the way you are getting along with your colleagues ?
Very much/Much/Little/Very little.
- B-23(b) Why do you say so ? Could you please explain ?
- B-24(a) How much are you satisfied the way you are getting along with your subordinates ?
Very much/Much/Little/Very little.
- B-24(b) Why do you say so ? Could you please explain ?
- B-25 As far as you know, how frequent is it among your superior officers to get-together to discuss non-official matters during office hours ?
Very frequently/Frequently/Less frequently/Least frequently/Never.
- B-26 As far as you know, how frequent is it among your colleagues to get-together to discuss non-official matters during office hours ?
Very frequently/Frequently/Less frequently/Least frequently/Never.
- B-27 As far as you know, how frequent is it among your subordinates to meet and discuss non-official matters during office hours.
Very frequently/Frequently/Less frequently/Least frequently/Never.
- B-28 Do you think transfer of officials are also motivated by factors other than administrative efficiency and procedure ?
- | | |
|-----|----|
| Yes | No |
|-----|----|
- B-29 If yes, which of the following factors enter into it ?
Please put 1, 2, 3 in order of priority.
- | | |
|---------------------------------|-----------------|
| | Priority number |
| (a) Favouritism | () |
| (b) Political Pressure | () |
| (c) Personal prejudices | () |
| (d) Pressure of caste loyalties | () |

- (e) Regional feelings ()
- (f) Bribing the officials ()
- (g) Pressure of relatives ()
- (h) Pressure of economic influentials ()

B-30 Which factors, from those given below, induce people to seek such transfers ? Please give three priorities 1, 2, 3.

- | | Priority number |
|--|-----------------|
| (a) Attraction of big cities | () |
| (b) Attraction of educational facilities for children | () |
| (c) Attraction of nearness to home and family | () |
| (d) Attraction of economic benefits (special pay etc.) | () |
| (e) Attraction of more power | () |
| (f) Attraction towards chances for bribe | () |
| (g) Contingent considerations (illness etc.) | () |

B-31 How does the informal relations of officials among themselves influence the efficiency of work within the administrative units ? Please tick one of the following.

- (a) Improves efficiency ()
- (b) Deteriorates efficiency ()
- (c) Does not affect ()

B-32 To what extent the following factors count in getting promotion ?

Very frequently	Frequently	Less fre- quently	Least frequently	Never
--------------------	------------	-------------------------	---------------------	-------

Competence

Hard work

High connections

Good luck

Flattery

Grace of God

Political
contacts

Belonging to
powerful groups

SECTION III

C-1 How do you greet the following ?

Just Smile	Say Hallo	Namas- kar	Say Good Morning	Raise hand	Bow	Do not greet
---------------	--------------	---------------	---------------------	---------------	-----	-----------------

Superior
officers

Colleagues

Subordinates

C-2 How often do you pay social call to the following ?

Very frequently	Frequently	Less frequently	Least frequently	Never
--------------------	------------	--------------------	---------------------	-------

Superior
officers

Colleagues

Subordinates

C-3 How often do superior officers entrust personal work to the subordinates ?

Very frequently/Frequently/Less frequently/Least frequently.

- C-4 What type of conveyance do you use for going to the office ? Please tick mark ()
- (a) Car ()
- (b) Bus ()
- (c) Cycle ()
- (d) On foot (no conveyance) ()
- (e) Rikshaw ()
- (f) Scooter ()
- (g) Motor-cycle ()

C-5 What types of conversation do generally follow when you talk informally with your office people ? Please put 1, 2, 3 in order of priority.

Priority number

- (a) Transfers and promotions ()
- (b) D.A. & Salary ()
- (c) Movies, games, sports ()
- (d) National politics ()
- (e) Rising prices and economic hardships ()
- (f) Family and personal matters ()
- (g) Scandals of officers and ministers ()
- (h) International situation ()
- (i) Departmental affairs ()
- (j) Any other : Please specify ()

C-6 How often do you participate in the following activities with your Superiors/Colleagues/Subordinates ? Please tick mark ()

Very frequently	Frequently	Less frequently	Least frequently	Never
--------------------	------------	--------------------	---------------------	-------

1. Inviting to a party
- (a) Superiors
-

(b) Colleagues

(c) Subordinates

2. Lending
personal
conveyance

(a) Superiors

(b) Colleagues

(c) Subordinates

3. Borrowing
money

(a) Superiors

(b) Colleagues

(c) Subordinates

4. Lending money

(a) Superiors

(b) Colleagues

(c) Subordinates

5. Going to
Cinema,
Picnics etc.

(a) Superiors

(b) Colleagues

(c) Subordinates

6. Attending
marriages

(a) Superiors

(b) Colleagues

(c) Subordinates

7. Any other :

Please specify

(a) Superiors

(b) Colleagues

(c) Subordinates

C-7 Please give the following particulars about three persons with whom you interact more frequently outside the office.

Profession/ Designation	Education	Age Group	Caste	Province	Locality your other own locality
----------------------------	-----------	--------------	-------	----------	--

1.

2.

3.

SECTION IV

D-1 (a) Do you live in :

(a) Govt. or firm's quarters/Bungalow ()

(b) Rented house : Rent paid Rs.....()

(c) Own house ()

(b) How many rooms do you have in your house ?

D-2 Do you have a domestic servant ?

(a) Full-time () (b) Part-time ()

(c) No servant ()

D-3 Which of the following do you possess ?

- (a) Car () (b) Telephone () (c) Radio () (d) A house of your own () (e) Radiogram () (f) Cycle () (g) Land (h) Refrigerator () (i) Scooter (j) Motor-cycle () (k) Drawing room furniture ()

D-4 How many languages do you know ? Please tick mark ()

Languages	Can speak	Can read	Can write
1. Hindi	()	()	()
2. English	()	()	()
3. Urdu	()	()	()
4. Regional Language : Please specify	()	()	()
5. Foreign language : Please specify	()	()	()

D-5 Which language do you use at home ?

D-6 In which language do you communicate while working in office ?

(a) Written : (b) Spoken :

D-7 Are you member of any cultural/professional/religious/community organisations ? Please name such organisations.

D-8 How often do you go to the movies ?

	Once a week	Once a month	Once in three months	Once in six months	Rarely	Never
English ()	()	()	()	()	()	()
Hindi ()	()	()	()	()	()	()
Other Lang- uages : ()	()	()	()	()	()	()
Please specify						

- D-9 What newspapers and magazines do you generally read ?
 Newspapers :
 Magazines :
- D-10 Please list five books which have influenced you most :
 Title of the book Authors
- D-11 If you have any hobby, please list any three in order of priority 1, 2, 3.
- | | |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| (1) Gardening () | (2) Painting () |
| (3) Reading () | (4) Music () |
| (5) Dramatics () | (6) Hunting () |
| (7) Playing cards () | (8) Stamps collection () |
| (9) Any other : ()
Please specify | |
- D-12 Do you smoke ?
 Very frequently/Frequently/Less frequently/Least frequently/Never.
- D-13 As far as you know, how frequent is the incidence of taking drinks amongst your superior officers ?
 Very frequent/Frequent/Less frequent/Least frequent/Never.
- D-14 As far as you know, how frequent is the incidence of taking drinks amongst your colleagues ?
 Very frequent/Frequent/Less frequent/Least frequent/Never.
- D-15 As far as you know, how frequent is the incidence of taking drinks amongst your subordinates ?
 Very frequent/Frequent/Less frequent/Least frequent/Never.
- D-16 From which of the following categories do you have your closest circle of friends ? Please tick mark () three in order of priority 1, 2, 3.
- | | |
|-----------------------------|---------------------|
| (1) Business executives () | (2) Businessmen () |
| (3) Colleagues () | (4) Doctors () |

category of officials which you consider to be common among them :

- | | | |
|-----------------|---------------|------------------|
| 1. Unresponsive | 2. Reliable | 3. Conservative |
| 4. Suspicious | 5. Hypocratic | 6. Red-tapist |
| 7. Manipulative | 8. Arrogant | 9. Clever |
| 10. Tolerant | 11. Liberal | 12. Intellectual |
| 13. Industrious | 14. Cunning | 15. Flatterer |

Officials

Characteristics

Senior officers

Officers

Lower staff

SECTION V

- E-1 Are there some departments in the Government/private firms which you think have higher incidence of corruption and bribery ? If yes, please specify three.
1. 2. 3.
- E-2 There are certain posts which are believed to have greater corruption and bribery. Please specify three such posts.
1. 2. 3.
- E-3 What are the causes of corruption according to you ? Please give any three.
1. 2. 3.
- E-4 What is the frequency of using office articles and services (using office stationery, peons, vehicles etc) for personal purposes ?

Very Frequently	Frequently	Less frequently	Least frequently
--------------------	------------	--------------------	---------------------

Stationery

Peon

Vehicles

Any other :

Please specify

- E-5 If you have some specific categories of administrative staff in your mind who make use of above for personal purposes, please mention.

- | | | | |
|-----------------|-----|-----------------------|-----|
| (5) Engineers | () | (6) Journalists | () |
| (7) Lawyers | () | (8) Poets and Artists | () |
| (9) Politicians | () | (10) Professors | () |
| (11) Teachers | () | (12) Any other : | () |

Please specify

D-17 How far do you agree that being a Government employee/ employee in a private firm for a long time one develops some habits common among such employees which are not found in persons belonging to other occupations ?

Strongly agree/Agree/Disagree/Strongly disagree.

D-18 How far do you agree that being a Government employee/employee in a private firm for a long time one develops some style of life (time-schedule of work) common among such employees but not found in persons belonging to other occupations ?

Strongly agree/Agree/Disagree/Strongly disagree.

D-19 How far do you agree that being a Government employee/employee in a private firm for a long time one develops some special cultural tastes common among such employees but not found in persons belonging to other occupations ?

Strongly agree/Agree/Disagree/Strongly disagree.

D-20 How far do you agree that being a Government employee/employee in a private firm one develops some temperamental qualities common among such employees but not found in persons belonging to other occupations ?

Strongly agree/Agree/Disagree/Strongly disagree.

D-21 How far do you agree that being a Government employee/employee in a private firm one develops some special likes and dislikes for things common among such employees but not found in persons belonging to other occupations ?

Strongly agree/Agree/Disagree/Strongly disagree.

D-22 Given below are certain personal characteristics, please pick up three characteristics from among these, for each

category of officials which you consider to be common among them :

- | | | |
|-----------------|---------------|------------------|
| 1. Unresponsive | 2. Reliable | 3. Conservative |
| 4. Suspicious | 5. Hypocratic | 6. Red-tapist |
| 7. Manipulative | 8. Arrogant | 9. Clever |
| 10. Tolerant | 11. Liberal | 12. Intellectual |
| 13. Industrious | 14. Cunning | 15. Flatterer |

Officials

Characteristics

Senior officers

Officers

Lower staff

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 1. 2. 3.
- E-2 There are certain posts which are believed to have greater corruption and bribery. Please specify three such posts.
 1. 2. 3.
- E-3 What are the causes of corruption according to you ? Please give any three.
 1. 2. 3.
- E-4 What is the frequency of using office articles and services (using office stationery, peons, vehicles etc.) for personal purposes ?

	Very Frequently	Frequently	Less frequently	Least frequently
--	--------------------	------------	--------------------	---------------------

Stationery

Peon

Vehicles

Any other :

Please specify

- E-5 If you have some specific categories of administrative staff in your mind who make use of above for personal purposes, please mention.

- | | | | |
|-----------------|-----|-----------------------|-----|
| (5) Engineers | () | (6) Journalists | () |
| (7) Lawyers | () | (8) Poets and Artists | () |
| (9) Politicians | () | (10) Professors | () |
| (11) Teachers | () | (12) Any other : | () |

Please specify

D-17 How far do you agree that being a Government employee/ employee in a private firm for a long time one develops some habits common among such employees which are not found in persons belonging to other occupations ?

Strongly agree/Agree/Disagree/Strongly disagree.

D-18 How far do you agree that being a Government employee/employee in a private firm for a long time one develops some style of life (time-schedule of work) common among such employees but not found in persons belonging to other occupations ?

Strongly agree/Agree/Disagree/Strongly disagree.

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Strongly agree/Agree/Disagree/Strongly disagree.

D-20 How far do you agree that being a Government employee/ employee in a private firm one develops some temperamental qualities common among such employees but not found in persons belonging to other occupations ?

Strongly agree/Agree/Disagree/Strongly disagree.

D-21 How far do you agree that being a Government employee/employee in a private firm one develops some special likes and dislikes for things common among such employees but not found in persons belonging to other occupations ?

Strongly agree/Agree/Disagree/Strongly disagree.

D-22 Given below are certain personal characteristics, please pick up three characteristics from among these, for each

- F-4(b) Why do you say so ? Could you please explain ?
- F-5 What additional measures you will suggest to improve the role of administration in planning and development programmes ?
- F-6 Please indicate the nature of political interference in the administration. Please tick mark () one.
1. Positive (towards the better) ()
 2. Negative (against the norms of proper administration) ()
 3. Neutral (with no consequences on administration) ()
- F-7(a) Do you agree that on the whole administration in the private concern is more efficient and devoted to work than in the Government ?
- | | | |
|-----|----|------------|
| Yes | No | Cannot say |
|-----|----|------------|
- F-7(b) Why do you say so ? Could you please explain ?

SECTION VII

Given below are some of the statements. Please read them and tick mark () your responses.

- G-1 Caste system is a drag on the forces of development and progress. There is no possibility of a better society in India till it lasts.
- Strongly agree/Agree/Do not know/Do not agree/
Strongly disagree.
- G-2 Nuclear family leads to selfishness and pleasure seeking values in men. It is, therefore, ultimately harmful for society.
- Strongly agree/Agree/Do not know/Do not agree/
Strongly disagree.
- G-3 Democracy in the present socio-cultural and economic situation of India is more harmful than advantageous.
- Strongly agree/Agree/Do not know/Do not agree/
Strongly disagree.

- E-6 As far as you know how frequent is the incidence of bribery in administration ?
Very frequent/ Frequent/Less frequent/Least frequent.
- E-7 As far as you know how frequent is the incidence of favouritism in administration ?
Very frequent/Frequent/Less frequent/Least frequent.
- E-8 As far you know how frequent is the incidence of red-tapism in administration ?
Very frequent/Frequent/Less frequent/Least frequent.
- E-9 As far as you know how frequent is the incidence of groupism in administration ?
Very frequent/Frequent/Less frequent /Least frequent.
- E-10 As far as you know how frequent is the incidence of negligence of work in administration ?
Very frequent/Frequent/Less frequent/Least frequent.

SECTION VI

- F-1 How far is your present position (office) better, similar or worse than position carrying same emoluments and chances of promotion in following areas ? Please tick mark ()

	Better	Similar	Worse
Teaching			
Military			
Private			
firm/Govt.			

- F-2 Besides your salary, official position and authority what other things influence your status in the administrative set up ? Please mention three such factors.

1. 2. 3.

- F-3(a) Do you think officials/staff having the same rank in administration enjoy different social status ?

Yes No Cannot say

- F-3(b) Why do you say so ? Could you please explain ?

- F-4(a) Do you think the means of planning and development undertaken by the Government are defective in some respect ?

Yes No Cannot say

2. A and B are friends. There are inquiries against A for taking bribes. B knows that A has taken bribe and is habituated to such wrong means of gratification. When called upon to testify

(a) What will normally B do in this situation ? Tell the truth () Would not tell the truth ()

(b) What would you have done in this situation ? Tell the truth () Would not tell the truth ()

(c) What one ought to do in this situation ? Tell the truth () Should not tell the truth ()

3. A is on the selection board for a particular type of job. A's close relation is a candidate for it. There are other candidates also who are more qualified than A's relation. But A knows that if he says a word in favour of his relative, the members of the board will select him in preference to other candidates.

(a) What will normally A do in this situation ? Recommend () Would not recommend ()

(b) What would you have done in this situation ? Recommend () Would not recommend ()

(c) What one ought to do in this situation ? Recommend () Should not recommend ()

- G-4 All economic troubles of our nation have been caused by emphasis on socialism and public sector which have no incentive for economic investment and growth.
Strongly agree/Agree/Do not know/Do not agree/Strongly disagree.
- G-5 The best form of marriage is by free choice of boys and girls whether from within the caste or outside.
Strongly agree/Agree/Do not know/Do not agree/Strongly disagree.
- G-6 (a) The administrative system as you know it tends to be formal (regulated by precise rules) and impersonal, without consideration for personal likes and dislikes.
Very true/True/Fairly true/Not true.
- G-6 (b) Allocation of work in the administration as you know, is based on competence and rational methods of selection.
Very true/True/Fairly true/Not true.

SECTION VIII

Following are some imaginary situations. Please read them and indicate your responses in each appropriate category.

1. A and his friend B are treasurers since a long time. B suddenly reports to A that his brother will face a business collapse if he does not get Rs. 1000/- immediately. B proposes to A to transfer his money for one day to his brother from the treasury. A is sure that in such a case it would not be detected and the money will be returned. Yet it is illegal.

Please tick mark ()

- (a) What will normally A do in this situation ?

Give the money () Would not give the money ()

- (b) What would you have done in this situation ?

Give the money () Would not give the money ()

- (c) What one ought to do in this situation ?

Give the money () Should not give the money ()

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Appendix C

Tables Showing Universe

Hierarchy	Public : Non-technical			Total n	Hierarchy	Public : Technical			Total n
	Secretariat	District	Others*			P.W.D.	Agri. Dept.	Others**	
Upper	40	3	25	68	Upper	20	24	30	74
Middle	77	20	—	97	Middle	30	42	—	72
Lower	850	151	—	1001	Lower	95	139	—	234
Total n	967	174	25	1166	Total n	145	205	30	380
Hierarchy	Private : Non-technical***			Total n	Hierarchy	Private : Technical			Total n
	'A'	'B'	'C'			'A'	'B'	'C'	
Upper	3	2	10	15	Upper	33	15	20	68
Middle	70	40	41	150	Middle	60	50	41	150
Lower	183	90	60	333	Lower	100	108	60	268
Total n	256	132	111	499	Total n	193	173	121	487

* Remaining upper non-technical public bureaucrats were selected randomly from amongst other twenty-five district collectors.

** Remaining upper technical public bureaucrats were selected randomly from amongst senior officials of other technical departments in Jaipur.

*** 'A', 'B', 'C', 'D' represent the four private industrial organizations studied.
These figures pertain to the year the sampling was drawn.

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